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ABSTRACT

This curriculum guide is designed as a tool for both university and secondary school use with the purpose of contributing to the further evolution of peace and world order studies. Part I presents three essays on peace and world order education. Part II comprises the majority of the document. It provides detailed outlines of some 50 college courses and seminars which fall into three categories: (1) courses and studies which present a broad overview of the field; (2) topical themes of peace, social/political justice, economic well being, and ecological balance; and (3) analytical themes which address values clarification/inquiry, futurism, and social/system change. Part III describes 30 selected learning packages in peace and world order studies developed by the Institute for World Order and by various world order centers and programs at universities and private organizations throughout the United States. Parts IV and V offer bibliographies of approximately 1,000 books, periodicals, films, filmstrips, simulation games, and other multimedia resources. Part VI identifies programs in peace and world order teaching and research in North America and elsewhere. Part VII provides addresses of peace-related institutes and organizations throughout the world. (KC)

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PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES

A CURRICULUM GUIDE

Editors

Burns H. Weston
Sherle R. Schwenninger
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Foreword and Acknowledgements

In May 1973, the University Program of the Institute for World Order (now renamed the "Transnational Academic Program") published a timely collection of peace and world order course syllabi under the title Peace Studies: College Courses on Peace and World Order. Since that time, due partly to this 1973 publication, the sub-discipline of Peace and World Order Studies has grown markedly, both in a geographic (transnational) sense and in terms of the courses and programs actually being offered in the field. Hence: the present curriculum guide, constituting an updated and greatly expanded version of our 1973 effort. Prepared with North American college-level educators primarily in mind, it is, however, designed also as a tool for secondary-school teachers and even community groups who seek broad-based information and study on peace and world order issues. Its central purpose is to contribute to the further evolution of Peace and World Order Studies wherever or by whomever developed.

In preparing this curriculum guide, we of course have been motivated by the unprecedented peril and change which currently and increasingly challenge our planet and all its inhabitants. And, in keeping with the many and diverse projects of the Institute for World Order since its inception in 1961 (especially its transnational World Order Models Project), we therefore have been concerned to facilitate more systematic inquiry into how the world is and might be, and more rigorous analysis of how we get from where we are to where we want to be. In these respects, however, we have noted and here report two major gaps which, in our judgment, constitute serious failings in North American higher education: first, a shocking lack of college-level courses and materials in the field of international human rights (as even narrowly conceived); and second, a disturbing absence of college-level courses and materials relative to the urgent task of progressive global social/system change. Each of these realms of teaching and research, we believe, are in critical need of innovation and development. Hopefully, the information we provide along these lines will help to stimulate these endeavors.

For the research and development of this curriculum guide, we naturally are indebted to a great number of people, not least the many instructors, both mentioned and unmentioned, who so graciously made their course outlines available to us. To them we extend our wholehearted appreciation. Very special thanks are due, also, to The Rockefeller Foundation without whose generous support neither this curriculum guide nor its forthcoming companion course manual (*Global Interdependence and Human Survival: An Introduction to World Order Studies*) would have been possible. Likewise: to Janice Kay Young whose patience and skill at correcting errors and researching omissions was exceeded not even by her expert typing. Most importantly, however, I want personally to underscore what already is acknowledged on the title page, namely, the abundant and gracious contributions of Sherle R. Schwenninger, Associate Director of the Transnational Academic Program, and Diane E. Shamis, a Junior at Princeton University who last summer served as a Student Intern of the TAP. Without their tireless commitment, none of this would have occurred.

One final note by way of special request. Please let us know what you like about this curriculum guide, what you do not like, and in what specific ways you think a future edition or similar guides might be improved. For example, we believe that a future edition would benefit significantly from the inclusion of more literature by Third World scholars. In any event, please tell us about any errors we have made. Only through this kind of mutual exchange, we believe, can any of us become more effective in helping to bring about a peaceful and just world.

Burns H. Weston
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New York, New York
March 1978

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SECTION I

SELECTED ESSAYS
ON
PEACE AND WORLD ORDER EDUCATION

EDUCATION FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL: AN IMMEDIATE WORLD PRIORITY*

Burns H. Weston

Deep down inside, I have trouble believing we are going to make it through to the year 2000.

I think about the powder keg of overkill on which we all sit, and then about the languor of SALT II, the "bargaining chip" reescalation of US-USSR arms madness, and the revelation that each year at least 3 percent of the approximately 120,000 military and civilian personnel who finger only the American nuclear arsenal are found to be "security risks" because of alcoholism, drug abuse, mental illness, and indiscipline.

I think about the largely untold slaughter of countless Chinese in Indonesia in 1965-1966, the unrelenting victimization of *apartheid*-controlled Black Africans, and the still unmitigated despair of millions of Palestinian refugees, and then about the prolonged United States' resistance to the Genocide Convention, about the chrome-plated diplomacies that make laughingstock of Security Council sanctions, and, generally, about the old Adam of sovereignty that tenaciously fights delaying actions against the achievement of fundamental rights and freedoms midst an increasingly restless "revolution of rising expectations."

I think about Third World poverty, illiteracy, and disease, about exploding Third World populations, and about the recent coming of long-predicted Third World famines on a mass scale, and then about the supremacy of domestic and foreign policies that resist defining where business profit ends and social responsibility begins, that grudgingly consign mere fractions of colossal GNPs toward the alleviation of human want, and that fail generally

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*Reproduced and revised from *Environment and Society in Transition: World Priorities*, ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, vol. 261 (B. Pregel, H. Lasswell & J. McHale eds., 1975), pp. 115-125.

to perceive the moral and realpolitik implications of an ever-widening gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots."

I think about the wanton killing of precious life species, the rape of non-renewable resources, and the overall disruption of delicate ecosystems, and then about the prevalence of governments which, in their commitment to elusive self-sufficiencies, to economic expansion as the sine qua non of social progress and well-being, and to pollution as *the* central theme of environmental concern, evince little or no regard for the "closing circle" and the consequent need to see our world as a total living organism, with appropriate coherent policies to match.

And then, finally, I think about the still largely unrecognized interdependence or interrelatedness of all these cancerous conditions--the nuclear war system, gross sociopolitical injustice, mass poverty, fundamental ecological instability--and about how together they have set in motion, with help from the prevailing myopia, a vicious circle from which our present State-centric system appears to offer little or no real escape. I think, for example, about the implications attending exponentially growing populations and rapidly dwindling finite resources, in conjunction with accelerating large-scale poverty, already widespread social-political degradation, and the day-after-tomorrow prospect that even poor nations will have their own nuclear weapons with which to bargain and coerce (as a by-product of the atomic power plants that many of them are now building or planning). Plainly, this medley of conditions augurs ill the possibility (probability?) of increasingly autocratic elites using ever more violent means to engage in a competitive "resources grab" of unprecedented proportion to secure at least for themselves, if not also for their deprived peoples, some hedge against the future--and with potentially catastrophic short- and long-range effects. The interdependent drama can evolve, of course, in varying combination and sequence. But through fantastic displays of psychological denial, by which we make abstract that which is concrete, we frustrate perception of it, ignore finding real solutions to it, and consequently contribute, however unwittingly, to the unfolding of the "crisis of crises."

True, despite the Cuban missile and other crises that have harrowed our existence over the last quarter-century, we have managed to squeak through. For better or worse, we are here today, and this suggests that I may be mistaken, or at least overly pessimistic, in my grim sense of the future. In fact, considering the recent big power detentes and the sobering influence of the Arab oil squeeze (tenuous though these developments are), it may be that the way is now open, perhaps as never before in our lifetimes, for a world that is moved more by enlightenment and persuasion than by irrationality and coercion. In other words, I take very seriously the caution lately voiced by British physicist John Maddox and others against succumbing to the "doomsday syndrome."[1]

---

[1] Maddox, J. THE DOOMSDAY SYNDROME. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

Still, even if not certain or inevitable, a new Ice Age does threaten hard upon us. Whatever the positive steps so far taken, none assures the burial of the nuclear war system, the eradication of gross sociopolitical injustice, the rollback of mass underdevelopment, or the redress of fundamental ecological imbalances. To the contrary, these perils persist and grow, and both singly and in combination threaten not just the quality but the very existence of life as we know it or would have it. Moreover, there is scant evidence that governments are seriously inclined, let alone prepared, to take the giant strides that are needed to save the future from them. More or less paralyzed by mounting symptoms of chronic political instability and abuse, they stumble along piecemeal and timorous. More or less mesmerized by the rewards of temporary self-interest, they cling to the fallacy that civilization will survive no matter what. A new Ice Age threatens not only because of the severe malignancies we have inflicted upon the global body-politic, but also because we are inert and/or indifferent in relation to them.

Now if one assumes, as I do, that our educational institutions should be in the business of educating for human survival, it is appropriate to ask what our schools, colleges, and universities have been doing to counter these major negative trends. That is, to what extent and in what ways have they sought to impress upon our young people that the history of our planet is as much the graveyard of species that proved themselves incapable of coping with disaster as it is a record of progressive achievement? To what extent and in what ways have they sought to guarantee human survival?

I, of course, cannot speak for education worldwide, nor indeed for education everywhere and at all levels in the United States. But if the general posture of American higher education over the last approximately two decades is any indication, there is ample room for anxiety.

One can take for starters the much and justifiably bannered Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, the 6-year, $6 million end-product of 21 special reports and a series of auxiliary studies under a charge from The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching "to study and to make recommendations about higher education for the 1970s and ahead to the year 2000."[2] Its findings are inescapable and well known: financial distress, loss in public confidence, and a nightmare of bureaucratic constraints--all tending toward a diffusion of responsibility and a drift in direction that seriously jeopardize creativity, experimentation, and reform. These findings are unnerving in their own right, of course. Manifestly, they bode ill for both education itself and the wider public interest. Yet even more alarming is the failure of the Carnegie Commission to address, except in passing, the ultimate basis upon which academe lays claim to intellectual and political legitimacy: curriculum and scholarly values, i.e., what we teach and why. To be sure, this omission was deliberate; but is it not ironic to the point of tragedy, the more so when the future is so uncertain as to completely justify the very question of human survival, that so major a report by so enlightened a group of people did not deal among its "Priorities for Action"--the title of the report--with the humanistic concerns that are at once the beginning and end of education and the bedrock of a world order of human dignity, now egregiously imperiled? The answer, I submit, is self-evident.

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[2] Priorities for Action: Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, p. vii, 1973.

Of course, it would be wrong to infer from this depressing omission that either the Carnegie people themselves or our colleges and universities are wholly disinterested in such concerns . . . . [W]e all know many academicians and administrators who long have been and remain committed to these vital issues. It is nonetheless no exaggeration to say that the Carnegie Commission's near-total disregard of ultimate purpose is a mirror of our times. Beyond the outcries over secret research, academic bias, and, much too rarely, the increasing professionalization of undergraduate study, the matter of what we teach and why has become obscured--in many places altogether buried--by questions of governance, measurement, and procedure (e.g., the evaluation as distinct from the improvement of instruction, the quantification as distinct from the qualification of knowlege, the method as distinct from the substance of education). What is worse, few of our educational institutions are taking seriously the imperative of reappraising their longstanding approaches to the study of international affairs in the interest of developing comprehension and skill relative to those global problems which menace the existence and quality of life. Indeed, it is the particular reflection of our times that the few educators who are addressing these matters are doing so less with assistance from the public fisc and their own institutions than with the encouragement and help of such outside and essentially poverty-stricken nongovernmental agencies as the Institute for World Order, the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED), the Center for Global Perspectives, and the World Without War Council. Like the generals who prepare for the last war, we prepare for yesterday's reality.

In sum, just as the nations of this world appear generally unmoved to save the future from potential disaster, so also do the academies. Not that questions of governance, measurement, and procedure are unimportant or that traditional approaches to international studies should be abandoned. Conversely, they are necessary and worthwhile. It is, simply, that they are inadequate to the task and too commonly diverting of responsible attention from the principal issues on the human agenda. Regrettably, it does not go without saying that this is a condition that cannot be allowed to endure.

Nor does it go without saying what kinds of curricular innovations and revisions are needed to advance the cause of human survival. It serves little utility simply to criticize and despair. Therefore, the remainder of these remarks, although by no means definitive or wholly original, are by way of constructive recommendation. Following the broad contours of what has come to be known as "peace studies," "transnational studies," or "world order studies," and consequently extending beyond the pursuit of human survival to include the wider goal of human dignity, they are premised on the deeply held conviction that education for human survival cannot advance the cause of human survival very far unless it is done according to an ethical system which seeks to promote "the greatest production and widest possible sharing, without discriminations irrelevant of merit, of all values among all human beings."[3]

* * *

Preliminarily, it needs emphasizing that an optimal human survival curriculum, or what I choose to call "world order education," would be at once innovative and traditional in its approach to internationally oriented instruction. It would be innovative because it would emphasize global perspectives, interdisciplinary analyses, and futuristic thinking, and it would be traditional because, in total keeping with "the compleat liberal education," it would be centrally concerned with the meaning, value, and improvement of life as a whole. The following chart, contrasting between "traditional" and "world order" approaches to the study of international affairs, quickly illustrates what would be principally involved:[4]

	Traditional Approaches		World Order Approach
1.	Analysis is presumed value free	1.	Analysis is value-oriented--aimed at value clarification and realization
2.	Ultimate analytical goal is description	2.	Ultimate analytical goal is prescription
3.	Time dimension is past and present	3.	Time dimension is past, present and especially future
4.	Problems seen as separate issues	4.	Problems seen as interrelated issues
5.	Focuses on nation-states and governmental elites	5.	Focuses on range of actors from individuals to supranational institutions

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[3] McDougal, "Perspectives for an International Law of Human Dignity" in McDougal, M. & Associates. STUDIES IN WORLD PUBLIC ORDER. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960, p. 987.

[4] The chart is drawn, with revision, from Walbek, N. & Weiss, T. A WORLD ORDER FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. New York: Institute for World Order, 1974, pp. 3-4.

6.	Policy goals defined in terms of national interests	6.	Policy goals defined in terms of global interest
7.	Power seen as basically military and economic manipulation	7.	Power seen as not only the ability to coerce
8.	Large-scale violence considered an acceptable means to implement policy goals	8.	Large-scale violence ordinarily considered unacceptable
9.	Human survival assumed	9.	Human survival deemed problematical

Also, because it would presuppose a basic although perhaps unjustified optimism that solutions to the grave conditions which presently threaten human survival are within human capability, a human survival or world order curriculum would be as much concerned with how as with what one teaches and learns.

In the ensuing discussion, in which I trace what I believe should be the topical focus, guiding principles, general methodology, and possible overall organization of such a curriculum. I try to make these various preliminary observations clear.

FOCUS OF STUDY

The topical focus of a human survival or world order education would be as is suggested at the outset of these pages where the perspectives which prompt my anxiety about the future are set forth. Briefly, the overall field of inquiry would be the four large problem areas that now challenge severely, and are likely to continue to challenge severely, the existence and quality of life on Earth: the root problems of war, sociopolitical injustice, poverty, and ecological imbalance. To this general statement, however, needs be added three clarifying observations.

First, it is understood that each of the four problem areas (stated affirmatively for curriculum purposes as "war prevention," "social-political justice," "economic well-being," and "ecological balance"), would embrace a wide variety of topical concerns. Falling under the label "war prevention," for example, might be such study units as "violent and nonviolent change," "conflict and conflict management," "arms control and disarmament," and "the military-industrial complex." Similarly, under the rubric "social-political justice" would fall many, perhaps most, of the considerations ordinarily associated with the field of "international human (civil and political) rights," e.g., genocide, race discrimination, political alienation, etc. The four problem areas would be seen, in short, as principal themes for study concentration--although not, it must be added, in any mutually exclusive sense. To the contrary, as such headline issues as the worldwide energy and ecology-population crises make clear, the four problem areas would involve overlapping considerations and therefore require integrative analyses. The simple point is that, as general curricular reference-points, each incorporating a diversity of inquiries which tend toward common issues of fact and policy that transcend the capacity of our State-centric system, they would serve to focus attention upon those regrettably ageless problems which seem most demanding of investigation and solution as humankind moves into the twenty-first century: how to limit violence and prevent wars and other types of hostilities among nations and peoples; how to expand social-political justice so that discrimination and oppression will be reduced and more people given more opportunity to say what should happen to their lives; how to raise levels of economic welfare so that degrading poverty will no longer be the fate of millions of human beings; and how to restore the quality of the global environment so that people can enjoy the benefits of the Earth in good health and without fear of pollution and the waste of finite resources.

Second, it is understood that each of the four problem areas, and the diversity of inquiries they embrace, would require the acquisition of knowledge in much, if not most, of the more familiar subject-matter of international education. "Area Studies" courses and courses in national foreign policy, diplomatic history, and comparative political systems, for example, not only should not be ignored, but should be made an integral part of the curriculum if one is to come seriously to terms with the four problem areas mentioned; and the same may be said of courses in international law and organization, world trade and investment, mass communication, language and culture, ethnology, social ethics, environmental aesthetics, and others of obvious and not-so-obvious relevance. At the very least, a human survival or world order course or program would mean allowing students to attack the problems of war, social-political injustice, economic underdevelopment, and environmental decay with time-tested knowlege and skills; it would mean blending new perspectives with old tools. To quote Montaigne, "[we] are all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapeless and diverse a contexture that every piece and every moment playeth his part."[5]

Finally, it is understood that the four problem areas would not and should not be treated as absolutes. In the first place, not every school, college, or university has all the resources needed to bring each of these problem areas into full-scale curricular development. Decisions concerning them necessarily would have to reflect sensitivity to context, and the most one can expect is that as many of our educational institutions as possible will do as much as they can with what they have actually and potentially at their disposal. Secondly, not everyone will agree that the four problem areas noted would be the best or only topical reference-points around which to organize human survival or world order courses and programs. Different assessments about the past, present, and future are bound to produce different curricular conclusions (just as will, parenthetically, the passage of time itself), and the most one can ask is that curricular decisions will reflect thorough and enlightened judgment about what knowlege is especially needed to make ours a more secure and just world for years to come. The four problem areas would and should be approached, in short, more in tentative than dogmatic spirit--all the while bearing in mind, however, that ours is in "endangered planet" and that it is now time, as perhaps never before, for the academy to respond accordingly.

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[5] Montaigne, "Of The Inconstancy of our Actions" in Kaiser, W., ed. SELECTED ESSAYS OF MONTAIGNE (J. Florio translation, 1964), p. 30.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF STUDY

The overriding principles which should guide a human survival or world order education are best summarized by the chart set forth above. Special attention should be given, however, to the following key terms: "globalism," "interdisciplinary problem-solving," "futurism," and "policy-oriented analysis."

By "globalism" is meant a break from the syntactical consistency of the word "international" and the essentially competitive and increasingly outmoded participatory model of the world system it implies. Even though Jimmy Carter, Leonid Brezhnev, and Julius Nyrere continue to look beyond their national frontiers largely in terms of the specific interests of their respective countries, the time is long overdue when the entire world must be seen as the unit of analysis, much as students of national politics view national communities. A human survival or world order education would involve seeing the world as a holistic social process and seeing, consequently, the commonality and interdependence of such problems as war, social-political injustice, economic underdevelopment, and ecological instability.

By "interdisciplinary problem-solving" is meant a departure from the excessive compartmentalization and narrative which typifies much of international education and which tends to isolate many people from understanding, let along helping to solve, the pressing global issues of our day. It is true, of course, that traditional academic boundaries have a proper and useful role to play. But it must be acknowledged that social problems do not arise, and consequently cannot be solved, in unidisciplinary fashion. Nor are serious inroads upon them likely if such problems are left largely to descriptive statements, particularly when the descriptive statements neglect potential system-change solutions. A human survival or world order education would test solutions (including transformative solutions) against those of their mentors and peers for the purpose of educating a citizenry to cope with the interrelated threats that will characterize the remainder of this century.

By "futurism" is meant not simply the strategic planning for the future on the basis of projected trends, but, further, the reconstructive planning of the future in accordance with recommended priorities and goals. A key reason why presently it is possible to talk about threats to human survival is that, until recently, few people have sought to project and plan 20 to 30--even 5 to 10--years into the future, and a key reason why now it is especially important to educate in terms of the future is that, if former Secretary-General U Thant and others are to be believed,[6] we have only a very limited amount of time (10 to 15 years) in which significantly to alter major negative trends. A human survival or world order approach to international education would seek to involve students directly and personally in shaping the future, and to encourage them to create and evaluate alternative images of the future based on both "hard data" and free-associative imagination.

Finally, by "policy-oriented analysis" is meant a conscious commitment to the clarification and appraisal of competing values and value systems, especially in problem-solving contexts. Since no social situation (including the classroom situation) is or can be "value-free," it means engaging openly and critically, without presuming other than a humanistic kind of world ordering, with ethical or moral judgements that often are introduced or assumed without question. A human survival or world order education would place policy or value questions at the center of inquiry by urging students to ask what is humanly desirable, as well as what is politically and technologically possible, and by challenging them to be critical of the various value-laden theories that are brought to their attention.

Summarizing, a human survival or world order education would mean including but going beyond traditional approaches to international education which, over the years (although less now than before), have tended toward nationalistic, unidisciplinary, too historically circumscribed, and ostensibly "value-free" perspectives. It would mean focusing upon "Spaceship Earth," rather like social astronauts or cosmonauts, in ways that strongly encourage young people to involve themselves in some form of lifetime commitment to human survival and dignity on a worldwide basis. Considering that today's undergraduates will be reaching the peak of their careers at the turn of the twenty-first century when our "global village" already may have passed what many acute observers foresee as the critical milestone in the history of our planet and universe, the urgency of promoting such education is inescapable.

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[6] Stated U Thant in May 1969:

> I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts.
>
> If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, than I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control.

Quoted from THE UNITED NATIONS: THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS (Twentieth Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace), 1969, p. 7. To same general effect, see generally Heilbroner, R. AN INQUIRY INTO THE HUMAN PROSPECT. New York: W. W. Norton, 1974, pp. 31-58.

METHOD OF STUDY

Quickly stated, the methodology of a human survival or world order education would be the basic methodology (or composite of basic methodologies) of the behavioral and social sciences applied to the global social process. It would involve, essentially, six operations, all of them familiar, hence necessitating only summary treatment here:

(1) the identification and definition of actual and potential world problems that transcend the capacity of nation-states, including the identification and definition of all the actors, institutions and relationships pertinent to such problems (*i.e.*, delimitative thinking);

(2) the clarification and appraisal of preferred policies or values relevant to selected world problems (*i.e.*, goal thinking);

(3) the description and correlation of past trends in the management of the problems selected (*i.e.*, historical thinking);

(4) the systematic analysis of factors that have conditioned past management successes and failures (*i.e.*, diagnostic thinking);

(5) the projection of future trends with regard to the problems selected (*i.e.*, prognostic thinking); and

(6) the invention and recommendation of solutions (from "crisis management" to "social transformation") that are consistent with preferred policies or values (*i.e.*, resolutive thinking).

Treated separately, as they can be, each of these six operations is seen as a curricular reference-point around which could be organized the teaching of critical behavioral and social skills, *e.g.*, problem specification, policy planning, data retrieval, systems analysis, probability calculation, and realization strategy. Treated as a whole, they are seen as the minimum steps needed for the rational amelioration of any world order problem. Treated either way, they of course imply the involvement of most, if not all, the major disciplines--the arts, the natural sciences, and the humanities, as well as the more expected behavioral and social sciences. This is as it should be. Education for human survival and human dignity cannot be the exclusive province of any one discipline or set of skills.

* * *

Concededly, education for human survival and human dignity is a very difficult thing to achieve, and not just because of the unparalleled public and private creativity, energy, and wealth it requires. It involves also the rearranging of thought patterns and work habits that run very deep. Unlike the doctor who labels "suicidal" a patient who consistently ignores threats to his or her personal survival, we label as "traditional"--not "self-destructive"--a curriculum which fails to confront the threats that endanger our national and planetary future.

But innovate and revise we must. The world has been superbly organized for everything except the life of its people, and as naturalist-poet Loren Eiseley has written, "the need is now for a gentler, a more tolerant people than those who won for us against the ice, the tiger, and the bear."[7] Genuinely to commit ourselves to an educational process that holds out at least the potential for heightened sensitivity to the preciousness of life and to the possibilities for upgrading human existence is the fundamental priority of our time. Even if we do not succeed overnight, the prospect that this conference can identify this fact as one of prime consideration and then attempt to do something about it may do some good. Education for survival is not just desirable; it is absolutely necessary.

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[7] Eiseley, L. THE IMMENSE JOURNEY. New York: Vantage Books, 1959, p. 140.

THE CRISIS OF GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION, INTERDEPENDENCE, AND THE SCHOOLS*

Saul H. Mendlovitz, Lawrence Metcalf,
and Michael Washburn

All civic education at this juncture in human history should be set in a global perspective; and this global perspective must be informed by just world order values.[1] Furthermore, it is essential to understanding, prediction, and control of a global society based on populist and humane values that people be made aware of the great social transformation which is taking place in this last quarter of the twentieth century.

I

One of the signs that the world system is being transformed is the recent and rapid emergence of a new rhetoric for the discussion of world affairs. Perhaps the most prominent and captivating new word is "interdependence," which shows signs of becoming for this quarter of the twentieth century what "containment of communism" was for the previous quarter.

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[1] For thoughtful views on the necessity and usefulness of a global perspective in connection with education, see Ward Morehouse, "A New Civic Literacy: American Education and Global Interdependence," Interdependence Series No. 3, Program in International Affairs, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, New York, and Robert Hanvey, "An Attainable Global Perspective," Center for War/Peace Studies, New York.

For an additional perspective on how research and education concerning these matters might be carried on through a transnational process using just world order values, see Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., ON THE CREATION OF A JUST WORLD ORDER, The Free Press, New York, 1975, Introduction.

It is an inadequate and potentially dangerous word with which to express a new foreign policy consensus or to inform the study of world affairs in the schools. It masks a number of fundamental value issues, blurs important strategic distinctions, and narrows the range of acceptable policy alternatives.

"Interdependence" does describe contemporary reality better and more pointedly than other concepts. It does focus attention on a set of critical world issues, primarily economic ones. Furthermore, the immediate connotations of the word "interdependence," evoking the notions of community and mutual assistance, are positive. It taps the deep yearnings for global community that have been stifled by the cold war while suggesting an approach to the world that would restore America's self-image and sense of humanitarian mission. In short, interdependence seems to lead to a policy which would positively and creatively resolve much of the strain, fear, and discord associated with the breakdown of the cold war consensus and the rise of the limits to the growth/scarcity spectre.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor Lincoln Bloomfield summarized the reasons for the generally favorable United States view of interdependence in a special study for the State Department:

> Interdependence as a deliberate strategy rests on conceptual foundations with deep roots in Western liberal political-economic philosophy--notably the assumption that world peace would result from an international division of labor based on comparative advantage and a free exchange of goods and services, all presumably reflecting a harmony of pooled, shared interests . . . .
>
> More than a few liberal internationalist-minded Westerners regard interdependence as a desirable halfway house between the narrow and eventually unsuccessful unilateral route and the never-never land of supranational integration. They view it as both an inevitable consequence of technology-driven economics and as a good move toward greater international unity through accelerated functional cooperation.[2]

An Unsentimental Look at Interdependence

Interdependence means that in the last few decades the nations of the world have extended and increased their interrelationships to such an extent that the web of mutual dependencies is for the first time global in scope and of paramount importance for most societies.

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[2] Lincoln Bloomfield, in TOWARD A STRATEGY OF INTERDEPENDENCE, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., July 1975.

While this perception of world reality by Americans in particular may account largely for the growing popularity of the interdependence concept, the fact is that interdependence is really not a new fact of international life. Some scholars, like Berkeley's Kenneth Waltz, have even argued that the economy of Europe and its colonies in the late nineteenth centruy was even more interdependent than the world economy of today.

The sudden popularity of the rhetoric of interdependence can be explained best by a change in the circumstances of one nation, the United States. The new fact is not the interdependence of nations but the growing dependence of the United States --on the importing of key natural resources and labor-intensive manufactured goods, and on the production of goods for export to pay for them . . . .

The potential costs of global economic instability for the economy of the United States are mounting steadily. At the same time the world economy, and particularly the economy of the advanced industrial nations, has become increasingly complex and sensitive to foreign and domestic policies of individual governments. This in turn has increased the need for consultation and coordination on economic policy among nations. The reality of interdependence is thus spreading rapidly from commercial innovation and expansion to the realm of governmental concern and institutional development.

For the purposes of this brief discussion of what is obviously a complicated matter, there are four basic problems with interdependence as a guiding imagery for understanding the contemporary global, social, and political system.

First, interdependence advocates do not fully comprehend the nature and extent of the global transformation now taking place. Furthermore, they discount the possibility of global catastrophe of both the nuclear and the ecological kind and underestimate the need for planned, fundamental changes in the present world order. Put differently, they overestimate the efficacy of making marginal adjustments to tensions emerging in international political and economic relations.

Second, the positive internationalist view of interdependence tends to assume that most interdependent relations involve mutual or symmetrical dependencies, when in fact many involve relationships in which one side is far more vulnerable than the other (this is particularly true of Third World nations vis-a-vis the developed countries).

Third, interdependence enthusiasts tend to underestimate the difficulty of creating the machinery and institutions needed to manage the complexities and fragilities of interdependence in a world of states among which power, resources, and dependence are so unequally distributed.

Fourth, the liberal view tends to underestimate the extent to which the rhetoric of interdependence could be used by more conservative political forms to mask or justify a strategy of enhancing the power and wealth of the United States and other advanced economies while constructing an increasingly oligarchic and repressive world system.

Interdependence is not the equivalent of peace and justice. In fact, it may lead to peace and justice no more than nuclear deterrence has led to disarmament. The limitations and dangers of employing interdependence as the organizing concept for thinking about the global human system are seen best in the light of a broader look at the changes taking place in the present world order system. To do this, an approach called World Order Studies[3] will be employed . . . .

The Challenge of System Transformation

World Order thinking starts from a recognition that the present global challenge is fundamental and systemic, that the obstacles to implementing an adequate response are nearly overwhelming, and that time is the scarcest and most precious resource. This alternative to the liberal interdependence approach is summarized in the following paragraphs.

These are the essential features and dynamics of the present world system:

1. In the present global political system the nation-state is, far and away, the dominant actor, controlling nearly all the military power.

2. There is a wide range of domestic governance systems among the state actors and there are patterns of cooperation and conflict among them on matters of ideology, economics, and political power.

3. There is a great inequality among state actors and these inequalities have become formalized over time

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[3] The world order approach to the study of international affairs derives from an intellectual tradition dating back at least to the Middle Ages and includes such outstanding thinkers as Dante, Rousseau, Kant, Marx, and (in this century) Woodrow Wilson, David Mitrany, Granville Clark, and Louis Sohn. See W. Warren Wagar, BUILDING THE CITY OF MAN, W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1971, and F. H. Hinsley, POWER AND THE PURSUIT OF PEACE, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1968.

The world order methodology combines empirical studies, rational analysis, and explicit attention to values. It is futuristic, looking at alternative preferred and likely world futures, as well as at past and present world order systems. World order is interdisciplinary and has over the last fifteen years produced several score books and materials for teaching at the school and university levels. It has an extensive following in the United States and a growing presence in other regions, particularly Japan, Africa, India, and Europe. The best introductions to world order thinking are Richard A. Falk, FUTURE WORLDS, Foreign Policy Association Headline Series, no. 229, February 1976, S. H. Mendlovitz, ed., op. cit., and Rajni Kothari, FOOTSTEPS INTO THE FUTURE, The Free Press, New York, 1974.

into a relatively rigid pattern of relationships among them, which places a few in positions of dominance and many in positions of dependence.

4. The domestic and global economic systems are directed toward growth and driven primarily through competition. The economic sphere is dominated by very large private and state-controlled enterprises, the largest and most essential of which operate transnationally.

5. The dominant form of productive system is one which employs sophisticated technology and requires high energy and resource inputs.

The changes that have been taking place in the world system since 1945 have not been simple evolutions in each of these dimensions. Rather, they have been of such magnitude and speed that they add up to a qualitative or basic structural change in the system itself. The central logic of each component of the world system and the nature of the interrelationships are such that within-the-system responses to problems are very likely to make them worse. Each of these key system components--the political, economic, and cultural institutions and assumptions--is being pushed to its limits.

It is very difficult at this juncture to predict the exact nature and extent of the system mutation that is taking place. Among world order thinkers there are at least three views. First is that the world is passing through a period of time in which imperialism and colonialism are being dismantled. A new phase in the life of the nation-state is emerging and the result will be a less hierarchical and more equitable distribution of wealth and power among the 150-200 nation-states which will make up the global system by the end of the century. According to this view, the changes are taking place essentially in the distribution of economic and political power. This view is held by many Third World participants in world order thinking.[4]

A second group argues that the transformation which is taking place is in fact a disintegration of the nation-state system. This group suggests that the changes are as profound as those which occurred when the contemporary state system first emerged out of the feudal society of Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To the transformation of economic and political structures seen by the first group, this group adds basic changes in the resource base, the productive system, and the dominant system of values. This is the view held by scholars in the United

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[4] It should be noted that Eastern European scholars and political analysts hold a similar but noncongruent view of these matters. One should recall that spokespersons for the People's Republic of China frequently speak of "The great disorder under heaven" which is bringing about beneficial social change.

States, Western Europe, and Japan (all areas where ecological thinking has gained a foothold).

Finally, there is a relatively small third group which believes that human society is moving away from a system of separate agroindustrial units. The trend is toward a more coherent, if not cohesive, global society. The trend that dominates and shapes the whole change process, according to this view, is the changing cultural/value system. Thus the long-term trend is toward a planetary civilization.

All these groups agree that transformation from the old system to the envisioned new one is not inevitable, easy, or without conflict. In fact, they are pessimistic about the chances for a violence- and catastrophe-free transition process. To understand why requires a sharp look at the imperatives of the state system, each of which leads away from the kinds of solutions most likely to effect a peaceful and more just system. These imperatives of the state system include:

1. Competition. It is generally assumed that the fulfillment of national destiny is ultimately dependent upon the frustration of the goals of rival governments, and it is assumed that rival governments are never completely trustworthy.

2. Domestic Interests. Major internal interests dominate state goals and the policy-making process. The values of external empathy are weak and generally inoperative.

3. Growth. Maximum attainable rates of economic growth are a nearly universal first-order priority. Assessment of government performance by key elites and the public is closely related to the provision of material goods for its citizenry.

4. Short-term Goals. Governments seek to satisfy immediate desires with little or no regard to the longer-range consequences.

5. Self-help. There is little deference to world community values and little reliance on, or faith in, world community procedures and institutions.

Some small, but hopeful, cracks have appeared in recent years in these iron imperatives of the state system. They are the basis for developing a positive model of a desirable world order.

A "Strategy of Hope" must recognize first and foremost the necessity of fundamental change away from the [present] nation-state system. A world order perspective implies the futulity of working only with events, moving from public issue to public issue. It also implies the futility of putting all one's efforts into electing new leadership. The real tasks are much harder. They involve transforming the liberal vision and perceptual apparatus on a broad basis among leadership people, young people, and the general public, converting the new consciousness and the new visions into an effective transnational movement for system change.

II

Social integration is a useful conceptual tool for those who would understand a social crisis. Social integration is primarily a matter of cultural unity. The various components of the culture mesh as a meaningful whole. Actually no society is completely integrated, but integration can be said to exist in a significant sense when there is substantial agreement upon basic social postulates. These postulates are of two kinds, the intellectual and the moral. Intellectual postulates tell individuals how to structure and interpret social reality. Gunnar Myrdal has called these the beliefs of people. They are propositional as to logical form and are subject to empirical testing. When one asserts what reality is, or has been, one is engaged in the expression of belief. Moral postulates are evaluational in nature. They assert what one prefers as social reality, past or present. They tell what kind of social change, in what direction, would be desirable. These are expressions of value.

In an integrated culture there is considerable agreement as to the basic ends and means of living. Community consists of the shared beliefs and values of people. There is a great consensus--even if unspoken--as to what reality is like, and what the good life is. Schools acting as a dependent variable, take their purposes and programs from the surrounding culture. Schools have no choices to make when moral postulates are clear. Indoctrination, as instruction in morals, is not at issue. The good man and the good society are tacitly or explicitly acknowledged in everything that the school does. Only when a culture begins to fall apart do educators come together (as they do frequently today) in order to discuss the great questions of education, social change, and cultural decay.

In a situation of cultural disintegration, adults no longer have a clear perception of either truth or morality. The outlines of the existing social order are no longer clear to many of the people. Even greater doubt surrounds all value questions--including the question of the kind of social order which would be preferable, given the many alternative social forms evidently available. When this kind of social confusion exists, not only the school is adrift. The very language of the people begins to fall apart. Loss of communication and failures in communication occur regularly, and semantics becomes a serious intellectual discipline. Not only are basic beliefs and values placed in question, but also under scrutiny is the methodology by which questions of truth and morality are solved.

There will be a general retreat from the use of reason as a tool of social analysis and persuasion. There will be frequent references to intuition and mystic experience as sources of personal and social insight. Movements in religious revivalism will not be confined merely to those who want to restore and preserve the contours of a bygone social order. Those who define truth as that which corresponds with experiment and testing will be placed in conflict with those who view truth as that which corresponds with inner feelings. Feeling and thought will be at war within people, as well as between them, and rationality will be blamed for most social difficulties. Personal disorganization and the disaffection of intellectuals will be visible plainly to all, and many will feel they live in a community of the insane.[5]

Social disintegration has been defined by William O. Stanley as an imbalance or maladjustment among life conditions, institutions, and basic moral and intellectual norms.[6] The forces released by the industrial-scientific revolution have destroyed the balance that once existed among conditions, institutions, and norms. It is this lack of adjustment that William Fielding Ogburn once labeled "cultural lag." The international realm demonstrates one of the more striking instances of maladjustment. The nation-state exists as an inherited institution; political independence and territorial security continue as cherished norms. But life conditions today include highly destructive weaponry with delivery systems that flash easily across national boundaries, and against which no defense is adequate. The capacity of the nation-state to provide for national defense and security has been cast in doubt. Widespread public confusion can develop as people begin to sense that the nation-state is less powerful and less sovereign than the needs of national survival demand. Yet, the same public may doubt the wisdom and attainability of a world government capable of controlling threats to human safety and welfare.[7]

There will be strong temptation to attempt to restore the old order. The impotency of the nation-state will be attributed to subversive or internationalizing tendencies and influences. In place of efforts to build a new order characterized by a better balance and adjustment among life conditions, institutions, and norms, one is likely to witness an attempt to apply old solutions to new problems. It may be granted that the bombings at Hiroshima and Nagasaki marked a fundamental change in the nature of international relations, but this will not deter people from trying (with the assistance of politically repressive measures) to solve their problems through application of prenuclear beliefs and values. And the more recent pollution crisis has not forced many people to relinquish their pre-ecological assumptions.[8]

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[5] Cf. William O. Stanley, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York, 1953, ch. 3.

[6] Ibid., p. 89. By life conditions, Stanley means the physical, biological, economic, and technical conditions under which social life must be lived. Institutions affect the social relationships of people, define various statuses and roles, and enter into the channeling of many societal activities. Intellectual and moral norms provide the basis for individual and collective judgments.

[7] The state's weakened role concerning national security can be accompanied by a strongly repressive role concerning individual liberty.

Clearly, domestic solutions have international consequences. It is equally clear that a generalized intellectual and moral order would color the solutions to problems of economic, social, and international order. What is not so obvious is the central importance to be given to construction of a new international order. Stanley himself did not place international order at the center of things when he first analyzed the crisis almost twenty years ago. More recently, he has acknowledged the absolute importance of addressing the thoughts of leading educators to the problem of world government. An intellectual and moral order that has little or no application to this problem would leave humanity poised at the brink of disaster. In commenting upon this aspect of the crisis, he said

> Peace between nations, as between men, depends upon law and order, and law and order, on a world scale, means an effective world government. The basic issue then is how can we establish a world government with the authority and the power to settle international disputes even when such disputes involved the vital interests of the great powers? The capacity to achieve such a world government by mutual consent is an essential condition of the preservation of civilized society, if not human life itself, on this earth. Yet, all I can hear on this most fundamental of issues is a monumental silence.[9]

III

Schools as an Instrument of Social Transformation

What kind of education is to be preferred, as part of the means of moving toward a better system of international relations evolving into a humane global society?

It is proposed that the school become an institution devoted in its social studies to the creation of a climate favorable to drastic change in the international system, and that it create this climate by opening up the classroom to the study of "radical" proposals for changing the character of the existing international system.[10]

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[8] The cultural crisis contains an implicit and generally unrecognized conflict between ecology and economics. See Barry Commoner, THE CLOSING CIRCLE, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1971, pp. 250-292.

A similar conflict exists between ecology and the existing international system, according to Harold and Margaret Sprout, TOWARD A POLITICS OF THE PLANET EARTH, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, Inc., New York, 1971, pp. 13-31.

[9] W. O. Stanley, "Education and Social Integration--Fifteen Years Later." (Unpublished paper.)

The traditionally objective study of war that is limited largely to a careful conceptualization of war as a social institution, followed by a scholarly treatment of the causes and effects of war, is not proposed. It is proposed that war be studied in these objective terms, but that teachers also apply their canons of objectivity to the problem of war prevention. The task of teachers of world order is to help students assess the capacity of existing and alternative international systems to reduce drastically the occurrence of war. With equal objectivity, assessment should be made of alternative systems and institutions for their capacity to solve the other world order crises of global poverty, loss of human rights, and environmental deterioration. This emphasis on drastic change or system transformation is one primary feature of world order studies.

A second feature would be exploration of the interrelatedness of all the world order problems and values. To what extent is war prevention necessary to achievement of ecological balance in the world? Can worldwide economic development take place without a side effect of overwhelming pollution? How many people can the earth support at what standard of living? These are only three of the questions that can be raised in regard to the large matter of interrelatedness.

A third feature of world order studies would be the use of models. Models help teachers and their students to make sense of their data. They will be wise not to accept any model unquestioningly as a picture of international reality. Instead they should try to locate the main features of the model, its basic concepts and principles. Assumptions about humanity and society should be made explicit and examined. One can turn then to other questions of fact and value. Which model comes closest to a description of some existing or emerging system? To a student's preferred system?

For each proposed system change, three questions have to be raised. Is the change necessary? Is it fair to everyone involved or affected by the change? And, finally, is the change possible? The feasibility question is fundamental; it forces one to distinguish between practical and impractical utopias (to borrow a concept from Paul Goodman).

A fourth feature of world order studies is a focus upon long-term planning and policy. What kind of world order would one like to see come into being by the year 2000? Those who teach or study world order must examine present-day short-range policies in order to determine if they point in the right direction. A policy that seems right from a short-run perspective may be the worst possible policy in the longer view of things. If present policies look unpromising for achievement of some preferred form of world order, inquiry would then turn toward a search for alternative policies and strategies of fundamental change.

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[10] With some people "radical" is an unpopular expression connoting communism. This definition is inadequate. In this society there are many radicalisms besides communism, and in a communistic society communism would not be considered radical. The definition in WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY is preferable: "Of or from the roots or root; going to the foundation or source of something; fundamental; basic (a radical principle)."

The Liberal School

It is not unusual for a liberal teacher or school to study the international system from a reformist or gradualist point of view. This kind of study does not usually nurture a climate favorable to the study of proposals for far-reaching system transformation. In fact, it may do the very opposite by supporting the idea that the existing system is fundamentally sound, and that all that is necessary is to reform, slightly modify, or patch up that system. In addition, many liberals perceive system change as a notion too utopian to qualify as a hypothesis deserving serious study.

A possible example of this kind of thinking from the history of domestic politics in the United States is Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Many historians are saying now that these policies did not transform the United States economic system. Rather, they "saved" capitalism from the "threat" of alternative systems and provided patchwork ameliorations of the problems of unemployment and poverty, while ignoring almost entirely the deep-rooted racist features of the then existing system.[11] Yet, Roosevelt was viewed by many of his conservative critics as a "communist" bent upon destruction of the capitalistic system.

Many a liberal teacher defended Roosevelt against his conservative critics by identifying their inconsistencies and ignorance. This is good education to the extent that facts and logic are straightened out. (And it is important to nurture the fullest possible participation of conservatives who will spotlight inconsistencies in liberal teachers.) But this is bad education to the extent that it shuts out from consideration the many significant social alternatives which involved drastic system change. Did the problems of Roosevelt's day require drastic system change as a solution? How well did New Deal modifications of the American economy solve the problems of unemployment, poverty, economic instability, and racist discrimination? Were more drastic solutions possible at the time?

These are among the questions to be raised by social studies teachers within a school committed to creation of a climate favorable to the study of radical ideas. Thus, it is argued that a school which aims for a climate favorable to the study of radical or utopian solutions is more liberal than most liberal schools, provided that this more radical approach retains the liberal faith in reason and persuasion as ways of social change.

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[11] Howard Zinn, THE POLITICS OF HISTORY, Beacon Press, Boston, 1970, chs. 7, 10, and 11.

The School as Source of Social Action

Some people would have the school act as a source of radical change, training cadres for political action. Students would move into the community as protestors and demonstrators, and would do so under school sponsorship. In recent years, the protest activities of college students have been treated by most authorities as being disruptive of the educational process. But this third view of the school and its social role would include these activities as a piece of the curriculum. Not only would students engage in political activity, but they would learn through research how to assess the political effectiveness of various forms of protest.

Radicals who press for this kind of social role often argue that the socially neutral educational institution is a myth, that schools have to take sides, and that because of this they should take the correct rather than a wrong side. Spokespersons for this movement say that no university can be neutral. It is said that most universities are sexist and racist in their policies, support antiunion sentiments and organizations, and train young people to serve corporate and military interests. Such spokespersons regard training young people to take effective political action in the name of social justice as no more inconsistent with the "principle" of political neutrality than most of what already is being done.

It would be hard to deny that educational institutions have played a political role, and that their political stance has favored the status quo. The radical who claims that schools and colleges have never been politically neutral on important issues is more right than wrong. There appears to be something hyprocritical about a university which votes its stock holdings on the side of corporate management rather than for ecological balance, and then uses political or social neutrality as an excuse for "not taking sides" whenever radicals ask it to be socially bold and daring.

Perhaps a few universities could achieve enough independence to choose to disseminate and act upon radical but unpopular ideas. But it is doubtful that public schools have this independence or will ever have it. Even more doubtful is the ethical right of any public school to achieve and exercise such independence. While this ethical question is not likely to arise in an integrated culture, it can hardly be avoided in a society in crisis. Those who advocate a social role for the school which makes it a source of radical change are overlooking an important feature of the social crisis. The crisis means many publics rather than one. Ethically speaking, the school is placed in a dilemma. As a public school, it is meant to be controlled by the public it serves; but it is clear that there is no single public. The so-called public consists of a large number of organized interest groups, each of which has its conception of the "public" good.

The School as a Dependent Variable or as a Brake on Social Change

In addition to liberal and radical alternatives to the kind of school proposed, there are those who would have the school play a more conservative role. Conservatives are of two kinds--those who see the school in the role of a dependent variable in society, and those who prefer that the school act as a drag on social change.

The first version (the school as a dependent variable) assumes that schools necessarily reflect established institutions. This descriptive assumption also may function prescriptively. Schools not only reflect established ways; but also, it is desirable that they do so. The school is said to exist in order to pass on the cultural heritage, to prepare students for defined and expected roles. Education does not lead or oppose social change. If society changes, schools will change. Teachers have no choice but to do what society expects of them.

This position seems to be saying that if there is consensus in society as to major beliefs and values, the school should indoctrinate, inculcate, or teach that consensus. The school might be critical enough to help students understand and apply acceptable beliefs and values, but its criticism could not include a consideration of beliefs and values alternative to accepted ones--except to demonstrate the inferiority of every alternative. Communism, for example, might be studied in order to give students a greater appreciation for a free enterprise system.

It seems to follow from this view of the relationship between school and society that a culture lacking consensus could not include a school which instructs in crucial areas of belief and value, at least until the crisis had been resolved by the larger society. In other words, a school acting as a dependent variable could not depart from the role of spectator in this culture except by teaching conflicting beliefs and values. It would be logically impossible for the school as a dependent variable to teach societally approved versions of good character and the good life, because the larger society is in turmoil and doubt on all important questions.

There is a valid and deep sense in which the coming of crisis frees the school from the restrictions and dependency of easier times. A crisis usually is viewed as a threat. It can also be an opportunity, a challenge, and a test. A crisis may force school leadership to choose between a school situation that is socially inactive and irrelevant, and one that is a laboratory where social inquiry becomes the heart of the curriculum.

Not much remains to be said about the second form of conservatism, the school as a drag on social change. The school could be opposed to any attempt to examine a social system as a system. It could be just as opposed to the practice of raising questions about the validity and adequacy of given systems. War and unemployment could be studied as isolated and catastrophic events with no attempt to trace their causation to a systemic environment. The social studies could become mere propaganda for an idealized version of the way things used to be. Given a current social analysis at both domestic and international levels, it ought to be obvious why this conception of education is inappropriate. However, it is likely that, as the general social crisis deepens, this head-in-the-sand approach to schooling will be powerfully advocated. It will gain support from many who are disoriented and frightened by the crumbling of value consensus and the inefficiency of social institutions.

IV

There are substantial numbers of people in every part of the world who are fully aware of the global social crisis and the nature of the task of system transformation. They are already working on alternative visions, the creation of a movement, and the cementing of transnational political coalitions.[12] As Soviet dissident (now exiled) historian Andrei Amalrik wrote in the fall of 1975, it may be that the United States will lead the way to a humanitarian world order:

> The U.S. must strive for a transformation of the world if it wants to be more stable. A system that does not set expansionist goals for itself contracts and dies

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[12] The Institute for World Order alone has produced a long list of books and periodicals on this subject, among which are Ali A. Mazrui and Hasu H. Patel, eds., AFRICA IN WORLD AFFAIRS: THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS, The Third Press, New York, 1973; W. W. Wagar, op. cit.; Jagdish N. Bhagwati, ed., ECONOMICS AND WORLD ORDER, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1972; R. A. Falk in collaboration with Johan Galtung, R. Kothari, and S. H. Mendlovitz, FIRST STATE OF THE GLOBE REPORT, North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1975; R. Kothari, op. cit.; S. H. Mendlovitz, compiler and ed., LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF WORLD ORDER, Institute for World Order, New York, 1962; S. H. Mendlovitz, ON THE CREATION OF A JUST WORLD ORDER, op. cit.; R. A. Falk and S. H. Mendlovitz, eds., REGIONAL POLITICS AND WORLD ORDER, W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1973; George Lakey, STRATEGY FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION, Grossman Publishers, New York, 1973; R. A. Falk and S. H. Mendlovitz, eds., THE STRATEGY OF WORLD ORDER, Institute for World Order, New York; R. A. Falk, A STUDY OF FUTURE WORLDS, The Free Press, New York, 1975; R. A. Falk, THIS ENDANGERED PLANET, Random House, Inc., New York, 1971; Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD LAW, 3d ed., enlarged, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966; ALTERNATIVES, A JOURNAL FOR WORLD POLICY, quarterly publication by North Holland, Amsterdam; Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, eds., PLANNING ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURES, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1975; and BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS, edited at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, under the auspices of the International Peace Research Association.

> away. The world has experienced many forms of expansion--military, economic, cultural. If the U.S. can become the center of a new expansionism, a humanitarian expansion based on human rights throughout the world, its future would be assured for a long time.
>
> It is interesting that this idealistic element has already, to a lesser or greater degree, been felt in American politics during the entire history of the U.S. The old-fashioned European political mentality--without an understanding of historical perspective and without interest in higher goals--is not likely to long dominate the foreign policy of the U.S. No matter how much more Mr. Kissinger wants to cast aside humanitarian problems, they come to the surface by one means or another.[13]

There can be no denying that the rhetoric and reality of interdependence are a significant and positive step in the direction of a humanitarian global transformation strategy. This [essay] has tried to bring out the shortcomings and ambivalences of liberal interdependence thinking, and of the liberal educational philosophy which is likely to guide its introduction into the schools. It has focused on the part of the glass that is half empty, perhaps even two-thirds empty. This critical attitude is not meant to dampen hopes, but to temper them and make them resilient for a long road ahead. Yes, it is a fact that the glass is at least a third full. But that will not be enough to get through the next thirty years.

The basic question is, what must be done to enhance and broaden the basis for a humanitarian system transformation? How can the rhetoric and reality of interdependence be prevented from creating a short-term illusion of progress and security and a long-run incapacity to shape the future? As Mr. Amalrik said, "Americans are a people easily carried away . . . . Haste reflects . . . not only the mentality of Mr. Kissinger himself, but also the features of American mentality in general--the mentality of businessmen who want to see at once the tangible results of their efforts." People must learn first that true progress requires restraint, determination, and adequate preparation. Long-run goals must not be sacrificed for short-term gains. Patience is not a symptom of powerlessness, but rather of strength and wisdom. Schools have long had patience, even reverence, with the past. The task now for social studies education is to foster both a passion for and a patience with the future, a deep commitment to world order values, and adequate preparation for the decades-long task of creating a humanitarian transformation of the world system.

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[13] Andrei Amalrik, in THE NEW YORK TIMES, Oct. 22, 1975, p. 45.

PEACE AS AN EDUCATIONAL END AND PROCESS*

Betty A. Reardon

I want to discuss the subject of peace -- peace as a value, a goal, a process; peace in the general social order with special reference to politics, and peace in the educational system with special reference to the classroom.

The issue of values in politics and education is crucial not only to the professionals in both areas, but to the public at large. For events both in politics and education seem to indicate that we have lost the traditional values and that we are in a very painful search for their reaffirmation or their substitution by new values which can help bring forth a new social order. Evidence of this confusion, turmoil, and struggle over values is the variety of apparent definitions which underlie the use of the term "values."

In order that there be somewhat less confusion over what I have to say, I would like to define what I mean by "value," as well as "goal" and "process." To me, a "value" is an idea or concept of that which is good and therefore to be desired and sought after. A "goal" is the specific manifestation of a value, a set of conditions which can be described in sufficient detail that we can communicate to others what we value and what set of circumstances would prevail if our values were in actual operation. "Process" is the way in which we go about achieving our goals and realizing our values, the ways and means by which we seek what is desirable.

Both politics and education are processes for achieving values. What should be brought into question today are the values which both of these processes seek to achieve. Yet, very little attention is accorded to this question in the day-to-day discussion and debates of either education or politics. It is by and large left to political critics and educational philosophers. In fact, of course, it is the business of the general public and should be the core of public dialogue about the next century of this Republic and the next phase of human history.

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* Based on a paper presented at the University of Dayton on March 10, 1976 as one of a series of lectures on "Values and Social Change."

As you might surmise, were I to express the core value which I believe we should be struggling to achieve, it would be peace. I would advocate that both politics and education should be preoccupied with peace and with the search for ways in which peace might be achieved.

Again in the interests of clarity, let me define "peace," "politics," and "education." To me, "peace" is a social order or set of human relationships in which justice can be pursued without violence.[1] A similar definition by Adam Curle, the first Professor of Peace Studies at Bradford University in England, is that peace is a high level of justice and a low level of violence. My definition evokes a description of interactions and social structures. Curle's definition brings forth the possibility of measuring and evaluating certain aspects of those interactions which can tell us how much peace any given social order is providing. In any event, the results of such measurements should be vital to what we call "politics," i.e., the process of making decisions about the public order,[2] with the capacity and opportunity to make such decisions and to allocate resources for their implementation, being what we call "power." Unfortunately, not all of us are part of the decision-making process; too many people are powerless. "Education" is the process whereby we learn what the realities of the human experience are, how they operate, and how we fit into them. It also is the process which purports to prepare us for participation in the public order. A major purported purpose of public education is to empower the citizenry for full participation in the democratic process.

Given my core value, it is obvious that I do not view the present processes either of politics or of education as conducive to achieving a peaceful and just social order. Current politics and education, for the most part, do not manifest the value of peace. The methods used tend to be competitive, non-participatory, and coercive -- often to the point of violence -- and thus are incompatible with the goals of peace and justice. Although politicians and educators articulate a concern for peace, the forms and methods they use are not truly peaceful and it seems to me that actual behavior is one of the most effective indicators of values.

Since it is evident that little real value is placed on peace, there is not very much consideration given to what would seem obvious, namely, that we cannot use means antithetical to a value to achieve that value in a particular goal; we cannot use violence to achieve true peace.[3] In most cases, some form of coercion is viewed as the most effective means of achieving stated goals, which is not to say that effectiveness should not be a major criterion in determining strategies and methods (even when only peaceful ones are acceptable), but simply that we need a wider variety of alternatives for consideration.[4] We need to push the frontiers of human imagination in politics and in education, and to expand the repertoire of political and educational strategies, practices, and structures. We must educate to develop the creative and inventive human capacities so desperately needed in a crisis-ridden world. For, if such were the case, I believe the likelihood of using peaceful means would be greatly increased, and thereby also the potential for achieving the goal of peace -- a satisfying set of circumstances, to say the least. As Charlie Brown might say: "Happiness is value-consistency and value-effectiveness." We can feel pretty good about ourselves and the world in general when we are pursuing our goals with means which are both consistent with our values and effective in achieving them.

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[1] See Futurism, WAYS AND MEANS. New York: Institute for World Order, Fall 1971, No. 7.

[2] Such measurements are the purpose of the Global Indicators project of the University of Oslo.

I have, in fact, found this to be true, at least among people in the peace field. Having conducted a number of interviews with peace activists, I find that, although they are realistic in their views about the obstacles to major systems changes which would facilitate peace, they tend generally to be more optimistic about the future and more happy in their work and day-to-day lives than others. These people place great value not only on peace, but on the struggle to achieve it.

And this is a very great struggle, indeed, for in the political system and educational systems generally, the trends seem to be in the opposite direction, from peaceful conditions of sharing toward encapsulating power and decision-making capacity in smaller and smaller sectors of the system. These small sectors of power rely heavily on coercion to maintain that encapsulation and they use the indicators of the interests of their own sector as the primary criteria for decisions, be they in world politics or in curriculum. The public at large, having no greater repertoire of alternative responses than the decision-makers, largely retreat into some form of privatism or materialism, also defining their interest within the limits of very narrow groups while struggling to stake a claim on the economic resources of society for themselves and for their small group. Indeed, even some of those who clamor for justice in the form of a more equitable sharing of the goods of society do so in this same spirit. We live in a social order characterized by competition, alienation, and various anti-community forces.

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3 This is the basic tenet of non-violence, well documented in the works of Gene Sharp.

4 Conclusion of Gene Sharp, drawn from extensive historical research on non-violence.

Our schools reflect and perpetuate these conditions. Students are encouraged less to learn than to compete in order to achieve a material demonstration of satisfactory performance, to attain a higher score than their classmates. Classmates, then, are as much or more competitors than co-learners. Moreover, on the sports field, winning often is stressed, over teamwork and the joy of physical activity. And, when one walks by an urban school at a recess and observes the clusters of young people standing together, more often than not these clusters reveal that the young socialize in their own racial, class, and cultural groups. While such socializing is not undesirable in and of itself, it often simply replicates within the school the conditions of segregation of the outer society; and it certainly does not contribute to the total sense of community in any given school.

Yet, in the same urban areas, there are small rays of hope, with some groups of people struggling together to envision and achieve changes that can overcome such alienation and competition and lead us toward community and cooperation. Interracial groups strategize and struggle to root out institutional racism, to begin a process of legislation and public education which demands that our society accord dignity and opportunity to all its members in every manner. Former sports stars speak out against the negative social consequences of competitive games. And thoughtful educators publicly discuss the possibility that our grading systems impede learning. Thus, this country and the world are in a state of creative tension between alienation and violence, on the one hand, and community and peace, on the other. The task of education, as well as the task of politics, is to catalyze, to strengthen, and to energize the forces of community and peace.

But what would be the components of a peaceful community? Where are the guidelines by which we can plot our strategies or the particular value components from which we can envision our goals?

The guidelines through which some of us think about the necessary components of a preferred social order -- a peaceful world system -- are called "world order values." These values (peace, social justice, economic well-being, ecological balance, and, to some extent, political participation) were developed by a transnational community of scholars sponsored by the Institute for World Order, each of whom was concerned about the stresses of current world problems on his own region (and geographic and cultural community) as well as the world system, and each of whom agreed to try to project a preferred public order for the world. These images of preferred global social orders were called "world order models."[5] In the early stages, the world order models scholars discussed, argued, and deliberated on the basic criteria for the establishment of a preferred world order. By the end of their deliberations, they determined that the criteria -- the world order values -- were in essence the antithesis of the major problems which brought stress, conflict, and inordinate human suffering to world society.

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[5] For further information on the project, write to the Institute for World Order.

Thus, the world order models scholars sought to overcome the problem of violence (particularly organized warfare) by embracing "peace" as their core and, I would say, comprehensive value. The most horrible of human suffering is the actual physical deprivation that comes from widespread and severe poverty. Therefore, the world order models scholars considered the value of "economic well-being" of crucial significance. Political oppression and discrimination, in particular racism (and some of us would add sexism) were viewed as an outrage to basic human dignity. Thus, "social justice" was acknowledged to be an essential component of the preferred society, the concern being not only the quality of human life, but also its continuation. Further, all people (primarily in the industrial world) understand, at least in the outer reaches of their awareness, the threat of potential eco-catastrophe, the destruction of our environment as a result of overdevelopment, pollution, and resource depletion. A harmonius "ecological balance" between the human society and the other components of the global eco-system was therefore accepted as a necessary criterion for the models even by the scholars from the developing world. Finally, a fifth value was discussed and embraced by some of the world order models scholars, but not by all: the value of "political participation."

The failure of the value of political participation to get complete endorsement in the world order models group (mainly because some perceived it to be subsumed within the value of "social justice") provides a useful point of departure for this discussion. Persons who work in abstract research related to social reform tend to put a lesser priority on participation in public policymaking -- in determining the course of a social group -- than do the practitioners of social reform, the so-called "grassroots" workers and peace activists. Yet, as the interaction between the theorists and the activists increases, the field of world order comes to recognize and to value the importance of political participation much more. If we seek common commitment to the other values we believe are necessary to a desirable social order, then participation is an essential value.

The processes of analyzing the value of participation and its role in achieving a peaceful social order is a very important educational experience. In a way, it provides a learning model for values clarification which can nourish the development of mutual respect between participants in the valuing process. Though each brings different perspectives and perhaps different secondary values, and though each may perform different functions in the struggle to achieve the values, the differences are respected and the functions are accorded equal weight. Not only do we see a value placed on praxis, the convergence of theory and practice, but we see a new value relationship developed between the theorists and the practitioners which has special relevance to teachers and learners. The recognition of mutual need and an acknowledgement of equal worth is the cornerstone of an equitable relationship; and when this mutuality and equity is extended to wider human groups, we put in motion a process which may be the strongest force ever in the development of a peaceful and just social order. So, if peace is the comprehensive value which describes the objective or goal, participation becomes the most important of the instrumental values, or the means of achieving the goal.

Legitimate participation requires a sharing of power. It is the most effective way in which to assure equity as a condition of the desired social order and as a significant part of the process for achieving it. We cannot overemphasize the educative significance of participation, particularly when we view education as an instrument for changing the social order or for rearranging social values and political priorities. As my former colleague, Richard Fernandez, of the National Council of Churches, says: "It is easier to act your way into a new way of thinking than to think your way into a new way of acting." There is a synergy and mutuality in the peace/participation relationship, making it an interesting paradigm for spelling out the conditions and causing it to exemplify the other value components of a peaceful social order. It illustrates most cogently the relationship between means and ends or between instrumental and ultimate values. Participation is a peaceful process. Peace is a participatory condition.

Yet, all of this is very abstract. I still have not provided a positive response to the question of the components of a peaceful community.[6] The world order models guidelines for community building were designed in negative terms -- in terms of problems -- indicating the way in which the world order values could be used as diagnostic tools; for, as is generally acknowledged, we define problems according to the values we hold (and *vice versa*). If a value is frustrated, we have a problem. But let us look to positive definitions of the values and to specific examples of their operation in the political and educational realms. And let me begin with the classroom, while noting that, for the most part, my images are of secondary school classrooms. Of course, the principles I espouse and the practices I advocate can obtain in any learning environment.

Ecological harmony in the classroom is made up both of the physical structure or system of the class and of the human interactions which make up the total learning environment in the classroom situation. That environment should be one of respect for persons, for life, and for natural processes, and can and should extend to the actual resources of the classroom. Students should have an opportunity to become aware that materials typically to be found in North American classrooms are drawn from the diminishing supply of the total resources of the world; that, in fact, they represent a way of life which draws heavily upon many of the irreplaceable resources of our planet. In how many schools in the United States are the students made aware of the extent to which their classes use precious metal resources, fossil fuels, and forest products in their daily learning experience, from the heating of the classroom to the production of the materials and furnishings of the school, including texts, notebooks, pencils, and the like? It is not unusual to hear teachers invoke the ecological value in terms of appearance of a classroom environment or of wasting paper by using only one side, not to mention wadding it into missiles for various and sundry mini-war games. But it is rare to hear it observed that many of the resources we use come from areas of the world where children don't even attend school or where, in any event, they have far lesser equipment at their disposal. Would it not reinforce the ecological value and demonstrate solidarity with the people of the exploited nations of the world -- the so-called Third World -- if schools in the United States were, for example, to adopt the use of slates rather than note paper? Such a practice could teach young Americans something of the way which South Asian children learn, not to mention their forebears in our own pre-industrial history. All of us can think of many such specific practices which could contribute to learning about the global society while simultaneously honoring the ecological value.

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[6] Nor, indeed, have I clarified what I mean by "community," *i.e.*, not so much a place as an attitude, a state of awareness; an awareness of interdependence with others and an attitude that the interdependence will be more advantageous for all when it is characterized by an equitable sharing of values.

Economic equity is comprised of equal access to the material goods and services in any given community. In the larger educational system, inequity is easier to perceive, as we know very well from the controversies over busing as a means of sharing educational resources more equitably among social and racial groups. But within the classroom itself, where the most important resource is time -- for interaction and for expression and contribution to the learning experience -- it is a bit more difficult to perceive. I once heard a study quoted, which purported to document that in a 40-minute classroom period the teacher talks an average of at least 25-30 minutes, whereas, subject to the number of students in the class, the average student speaks only about 12 minutes over an entire semester. I cannot assert that such a study actually exists, but all who are familiar with traditional secondary school classrooms know the scene and know, too, that, in terms of time, distributive justice is not a high-level priority. If we think of the teacher's time as a specific resource, then it certainly is inequitably distributed, going largely, as it does, to two main groups, one the "gifted learners" and the other the "slow learners." Why there are not "fast learners" and "deprived learners" I do not know. I understand that the term "gifted" is meant to refer to those students who are considered more intelligent than others, having shown proficiency in performing what is valued by the present culture of the school. On the basis of some experience, however, the term would seem most apt if it were to refer to the "gift of gab." By and large, this group of students reflects the high value which our culture places on verbal skills, unfortunately to the detriment of developing other forms of expression and especially to the misfortune of those who express themselves better in other than verbals modes. Indeed, we generally diagnose a "slow learner" in terms of whether he or she is articulate or not. Of course, this makes for a good criterion for distributing precious time - the "gifted" get to talk more with the teacher in a conversational form; the "slow learners" are talked to by the teacher who tries to make them, among other things, more articulate. But woe be unto those who fall in between and who have a variety of ways of expressing themselves. Not only is this condition inequitable; it also demonstrates the lack of richness of alternatives.

I would advocate, then, that a peaceful classroom is an economically equitable, and so less standardized, classroom than we have at present. Teachers should be prepared to interact with students around the learning task with a wider repertoire of communicative and interactive skills; and, in turn, students should have more opportunity to express themselves in varied forms. I am not advocating what some have called "creative chaos." Nor am I a great supporter of what is called "individualized instruction," which I feel reinforces privatism and those forms of individualism which detract from the community atmosphere of the classroom. Rather, I am saying that the weekly schedule of a classroom, while it might not have any more variety of context than at present, would have a greater variety of activities so as to facilitate a more balanced and equitable use of the time each participant (student and teacher) has in attending to the total class community. Further, materials would be of such variety that there would no longer be almost total dependence on the written or spoken word, supplemented by the occasional soundfilmstrip. In fact, there would be many more "self-created materials," materials developed within the classroom to meet the specific needs of particular class members and of the class as a whole at any given time. Creating these materials would be a participatory experience, bringing the students into greater mutual interaction with each other, and possibly sending them out into the larger community to seek resources for these new materials and to employ social reality as actual curriculum.

Social justice in the classroom refers not only to a reflection of the justice that is sought in society at large, but, as well, to the total structure of human relationships in the classroom among and between teachers and students. As in the case of economic equity, it is the teacher who bears the greatest responsibility in these respects, for the teacher is the most important component of the educational process, the one who establishes the classroom atmosphere more than any other individual or influence. It is up to that professional to assure that there is a sense of equal value of all persons and to accord dignity to all in the learning environment over which she or he presides. It is, of course, difficult and not always desirable for teachers to intervene in the social interactions among students. However, very much in the spirit of the civil rights movement, which sought to change attitudes by changing laws and social structures, teachers must at least ensure that procedures are based on the assumption of equal value of all persons and that, insofar as it can be affected by procedures, the classroom atmosphere reflects that assumption.

On the surface, the value of social justice in the classroom may appear easy to measure and not difficult to plan and structure if we think only of such things as allowing students time to express themselves, encouraging discussion among students, permitting them options as to activities, or emphasizing participatory teaching strategies such as games. However, none of these practices *per se* assures that students actually are empowered, that is, that they have an actual voice in deciding what is to be learned and how. Each student is the key to her or his own learning needs. Thus, it is of the utmost importance that teachers learn to draw out and diagnose student needs, and capabilities, and particular learning styles. Teachers must come to realize how much they need from their students to do a full and responsible job. Real social justice in the classroom can take place only when the present dependency/dominance structures, with the teacher holding all the cards in decisions about what and how learning is to take place, are replaced by a system of mutually recognized interdependence. We cannot educate for responsible decision-making with a system in which all important decisions are handed down from the top. Most certainly, we cannot educate for a participatory society without developing decision-making capacities reflective of such a society.

We come, then, again, to the comprehensive value of peace and its anti-value, violence. Violence is that which denies or injures life and/or human dignity, or which impedes the fulfillment of human potential. Peace nurtures life, accords dignity, and catalyzes human energies for self-fulfillment. Thus, in a peaceful order there is a minimum of coercion. Actions are taken not to fulfill the requirements of authority so much as for self-defined reasons. This is not to say that such actions may not coincide with what a legitimate authority has designated as desirable, be it learning of specific content or the time allotted to certain activities. But in the classroom it would mean as much inner- as outer-directed action, and this contradicts much of our present circumstances in which most student activities are determined by persons other than themselves.

One of the most significant aspects of the current trends in moral education is its thrust toward independent decision-making in matters of value conflict. We recognize that effective communal decision-making is extrememly difficult within the classroom when the general society is dominated by coercive, outer-directed activity, but at least teachers must strive to achieve a balance, to know and to nurture the inner person of each student, and to help all students share themselves -- their ideas and concerns -- with others in the classroom community. The teaching/learning process should be one which helps the inner person to comprehend and evaluate the social reality, and such evaluation should lead to a fuller discovery of self and others. Thus, peaceful or non-coercive teaching would consist more of "drawing out" and less of "filling up," because drawing out the contributions each student has to make will help the teacher to value the student more and, likewise, help the student to value her or himself and to recognize what she or he has to offer to other persons and the wider social order. Development of self-concept and self-esteen, as well as a respect for others, is one of the cornerstones of all peace education, just as it should be of any true community. Peace educators generally agree that for students to truly fulfill their learning capabilities and their capacities to create new knowledge in cooperation with their teachers and classmates, they must have a sense of self-worth and a feeling of positive identity.[7] When individuals place a true value on themselves and assume that others have equal value, there can be little room for coercion in a given activity or policy.

If most people in this society were to operate on the assumption that all human beings are of equal value, politics would operate in a totally different manner. Not only would politics be less coercive, but also less competitive. Political issues would arise out of what would be the best and most humane way to cope with the common circumstances the community faces, not out of who should take the main burden for any crisis or problem. Although we seldom hear arguments phrased in exactly this way, in essence this is what political arguments are all about. "Who should bear the main burden of the welfare system?" "Who should be subjected to more pollutants in the atmosphere than others?" "Who should disarm first and face the risks of being 'defenseless'?" Discourse seldom occurs so as to produce such questions as: how do we cope in a manner in which we mutually share the burdens and reap the rewards. But even if this is not the way in which current public debates are likely to be phrased, it can at least be the way in which the inquiry of political education is conducted. The purpose of peace education is to contribute to the politics of peace.

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[7] Positive identity comes from celebrating who one is, not who one is not. Too often people in our society gain their identity by not being a member of some group they consider less desirable, either by race, sex, culture, or social class. Negative identity assumes that some people have more value than others. Peace education attempts to invalidate this assumption. Many peace educators have come to recognize that only by employing peace as the educational process can we adequately develop an attitude which attributes equal value to all persons and which nutures positive self-identity in all students.

As I hold that the main job of contemporary politics should be developing peace, I argue that political education should be peace education. Contemporary citizenship education should consist of an inquiry into the problems and prospects of achieving a peaceful and just social order at every level of social organization. The conditions which give rise to violence and injustice, the alternative possibilities for overcoming those conditions, and the value conflicts which are embedded in the process of selecting from those alternatives as well as speculation on new alternatives -- all should form the core of the social education curriculum. This is not to say that peace education should be limited only to the social studies, but, rather, that it should be the central substantive concern of the social studies and a major objective and guideline for all other areas of education.

What, then, are some of the specific issues which would constitute the subject matter of an education which sought peace as an objective and valued peace as a learning process? Again, I find the most fruitful responses in the world order values. Pursuit of each of those values gives rise to significant public issues at the local, national, and global levels, and thereby provides the content for community education at all levels of the social order in which students should pe prepared to participate.

Issues of economic equity are in many ways the most crucial and most widespread concern of the moment. The basic question is: what kind of system can we devise, or what alterations must be made in our present system, so that we can provide the basic necessities of life or at least the minimum material conditions of human dignity for more people on this planet? The present system is one under which the vast majority of people suffer deprivation -- some deprivation so extreme as to cause death and most deprivation severe enough to cause lifelong physical suffering and mental anguish. We must ask in this country and all of the industrialized countries whether it is in the interest of economic equity for so small a percentage of the world's population to make so large a demand on the world's resources. Can we continue such a system and achieve material well-being for all people?

In the area of social justice, some of the current questions about racism and sexism come somewhat closer to the kind of inquiry which should constitute peace education. Here the core issue seems to be: is it socially just for one human group to have so great a value placed on it that those who are part of it have an inordinate share of all the benefits of society? In general, those who enjoy the most benefits in contemporary world society are Caucasian, male and culturally European or North American. The further an individual is from the preferred group, the narrower the range of social choice open to her or him and the greater the degree of discrimination, and in many cases outright oppression, she or he endures. These conditions must be explored in classrooms and, hopefully, in other political discussions.

The ecological future of the planet also lies largely in the hands of the same people. The issue here is: how can we create a dynamic of development which will meet the material needs of the entire human species, without continuing to place such stress on the natural systems of the planet as to threaten them with breakdown at worst, and a sure deterioration of the natural beauty of our spaceship Earth at best?

Political participation in today's world is also limited largely to that same core group, and diminishes as one moves away from it. The lion's share of power in politics at all levels of social organization resides with them. The questions that we must raise in regard to political participation are: how can we assure that more people will have more voice in formulating the policies that will determine their destinies? How can we assure that that voice can express adequately the needs of peoples and give rise to an open and fair debate on the degree to which fulfillment of those needs can make just demands on the world's resources?

These, then, are some of the basic content issues which should make up contemporary political education, but even more urgently they should be injected into all public policy and campaign debates. How many candidates raise just these questions of community-building? How many candidates have expressed a comprehension of the components of a peaceful community or a commitment to their realization? Few, if any, raise these kinds of value issues in regard to our sisters and brothers in other lands, particularly those in the developing countries. We see the positive growth of concern for some ethnic minorities in this country, and we see a more articulate demand on the part of women to redress the injustices that they have suffered. But even these concerns and demands are rarely made in such a context as to show appreciation for the plight of the other oppressed members of the human society. The group identity still is too narrow for the needs of a global community.

We cannot hope to achieve world peace until these basic value questions are raised in terms of the whole of humankind, until we recognize that the future of the human species is one and inseparable or none at all. Only then will we recognize that one link in a chain of injustice can enslave us all, that the war system is nothing more than legal murder, that its maintenance is the continuation of the ultimate form of coercion that serves to perpetuate the social acceptability of all other forms of illegitimately applied force. In the classroom, at least, we have pretty well abolished the use of physical force. The entire community is outraged if incidents of whipping or physical mistreatment are discovered in the schools. When will world society react as an outraged community at the use of force by one nation against another? I would suggest that this can come about only when peace becomes a genuinely believed value, demonstrated in political strategies and national policies as well as in educational objectives and practices. Both areas of endeavor will manifest the value of peace when carefully thought out alternatives to our present coercive, competitive institutions are given serious consideration in political debates and classroom discussions -- for example, when disarmament is discussed not in terms of whether it is desirable or possible, but within the context of its urgent necessity, with arguments arising only or mainly from what would constitute the most effective, rapid, and just way to achieve it. Indeed, bringing this debate into American politics is the purpose of the Peace Ballot campaign of which all Americans should at the very least be aware.[8] On the global level, the Bradford Proposals[9] and the Stockhom Appeals[10] which call for a world disarmament conference were the first events in a world political movement for this purpose. Nothing indicates commitment to values as clearly as action; certainly only action will achieve values, and a few peace educators are working to get these questions into the curriculum. I mention these particular action examples because they demonstrate commitment to peace as both a goal and a process, while demonstrating faith in the pragmatic effectiveness of peaceful methods. They constitute a significant contribution to the search for new alternatives to realize peace as a practical reality. Many of us involved in these efforts believe as did one of the great peace educators and activists of all time: "There is no way to Peace. Peace is the way."[11]

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[8] The Peace Ballot is available from the World Without War Council, 110 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60603.

[9] The Bradford Proposals are available from the International Peace Bureau, 41, rue de Zurich, Geneva, Switzerland.

[10] The Stockholm Appeal is available from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Sveavagen 166, S-113 46, Stockholm, Sweden.

[11] Quote from Gandhi, the motto of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

SECTION II

SELECTED COURSE OUTLINES IN PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES

Introduction

The course outlines presented in this section (alphabetically according to instructor) include: (1) courses and seminars which present a broad, even if sometimes particularized, overview of the Peace and World Order Studies field; followed by (2) courses and seminars which address each of the topical and analytical themes principally involved in this field. The main topical themes, reflecting preferred world order values, are: peace (or war prevention), social/political justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance. The main analytical themes are: values clarification/inquiry, futurism, and social/system change. All the course outlines are predicated on the belief that a global (local to supranational) as distinct from international (State to State) paradigm is a necessary intellectual perspective at this time in history. Also, all or most assume that human survival is not a given, but problematic.

The purpose of this section is to facilitate the development, comparison, and redesign of Peace and World Order courses and programs (an increasingly active enterprise). However, for lack of space, we have had to be selective; and, as a consequence, many new and exciting courses have had to be omitted. The course outlines chosen have been selected either because they display conceptual clarity about the principal topical and analytical themes of the Peace and World Order Studies field, or because they are sufficiently rich in informational detail as to be genuinely useful. Indeed, many contain what are tantamount to "mini-essays" on the topical/analytical themes of Peace and World Order Studies, and therefore should be consulted if for no other reason than to gain deeper understanding of the field as outlined in the essays presented in Section I. In sum, while certainly not the "last word" on the subject, they are offered because they contribute significantly to the further evolution of Peace and World Order Studies, the central purpose of this guide.

To the extent possible, we have tried to be faithful to the texts submitted to us. Only relatively minor editorial changes have been made.

A. GENERAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(World Politics on an Endangered Planet)
Political Science 230

Louis Rene Beres
Fall, 1977

Department of Political Science
Purdue University
Lafayette, IN

Political Science 230, Introduction to International Relations, is designed to acquaint beginning students with some of the most bewildering and critical political problems that confront this endangered planet, and with a considerable array of means and strategies by which these problems might be overcome. In examining such dimensions of crisis as Nuclear War, Population Pressure, Food and Energy shortages, and Environmental Decay, students will be apprised of the most exciting transnational projects now underway, including the work of the Club of Rome and the World Order Models Project. Throughout the course, students will be encouraged to develop their own personal plans for transforming world politics and reordering the planet. In fact, the final examination - prepared cumulatively at home - involves the design of an improved system of world order that is feasible as well as desirable. Private conferences are scheduled with Professor Beres to assist students in this design endeavor.

A Note on Procedure

Political Science 230 is conceived as a sustained investigation of selected problems and approaches in the field of world politics. The readings and class sessions represent a pair of closely-linked, interdependent parts. For this reason, students are expected to partake of both parts on a regular basis.

Books

The following paperback books are recommended for purchase:

L. R. Beres and Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet: Constructing Alternative World Futures, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974.

L. R. Beres, The Management of World Power: A Theoretical Analysis (Monograph Ser. in World Affairs, Vol. 10, 1972-73), Denver, CO: University of Denver International, 1973.

L. R. Beres, Transforming World Politics: The National Roots of World Peace (Monograph Ser. in World Affairs, Vol. 12, 1974-5, Ser. No. 4), Denver, Co.: University of Denver International, 1975.

J. E. Dougherty and R. L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Contending Theories of International Relations, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1971.

R. A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, New York: Free Press, 1975.

R. L. Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect, New York: Norton, 1974.

L. R. Brown, World Without Borders, New York: Random House, 1973.

D. F. Fleming, The Issues of Survival, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972.

Raymond Aron, Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations (Trans. from the French by Richard Howard and Annette Baker Fox), abridged, paperbound version, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966; and Environment, Population, and World Food Program Kits of the UNA/USA, 300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10012.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND CLASS SESSIONS

Topic I:

ON THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, pp. 1-29, 379-398.

Beres and Targ, Reordering the Planet, Introduction and Part I.

Louis Rene Beres, "World Order, What It Is and What It Can Become," mimeo on reserve.

Recommended Reading

Quincy Wright, The Study of International Relations, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955.

Richard Rosecrance, International Relations: Peace or War, New York: McGraw Hill, 1972, pp. 3-14.

F. H. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace: Theory and Practice in the History of Relations Between States, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1963, pp. 1-149.

Topic II:

ON THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NATIONS

Beres and Targ, *Reordering the Planet*, Chapter 8.

Raymond Aron, *Peace and War*, pp. 161-296.

Recommended Reading

F. H. Hinsley, *Power and the Pursuit of Peace*, Parts II and III, pp. 153-367.

Richard Rosecrance, *International Relations: Peace or War*, pp. 25-59.

Topic III:

THE STATE OF NATIONS AS STATE OF NATURE

William Golding, *Lord of the Flies*, N.Y.: Putnam, 1959.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, New York: Collier, 1962, Chapter XIII.

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, The State and War*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, Chapters VI and VII.

Recommended Reading

H. Bull, "Society and Anarchy in International Relations," in H. Butterfield and M. Wight, eds., *Diplomatic Investigations*, pp. 35-50.

H. Bull, "The Grotian Conception of International Society," *Diplomatic Investigations*, pp. 51-73.

Topic IV:

THE CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY

Raymond Aron, *Peace and War*, pp. 44-85 and 133-157.

Recommended Reading

Robert E. Osgood and Robert W. Tucker, *Force, Order and Justice*, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967, pp. 3-40.

Alexander Passerin D'Entreves, *The Notion of the State: An Introduction to Political Theory*, Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1967.

John R. Champlin, ed., Power, N.Y.: Lieber-Atherton, 1971.

Karl Deutsch, The Analysis of International Relations, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968, pp. 12-20.

Ronald J. Yalem, "The Concept of World Order," The Year Book of World Affairs, 1975, Volume 29, reprint on reserve.

MODERN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Topic V:

THE FIRST GREAT DEBATE: IDEALISM VS. REALISM

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 6-13 and 65-101.

Raymond Aron, Peace and War, pp. 301-337.

Richard A. Falk, "What's Wrong with Henry Kissinger," Princeton Alumni Weekly, Princeton, N.J.: October 1974, mimeo on reserve.

Recommended Reading

Erich Fromm, May Man Prevail: An Inquiry into the Facts & Fiction of American Foreign Policy, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964.

E. H. Carr, The Twenty Years Crisis: 1919-1939: An Introduction to Study of International Relations, N.Y.: St. Martin's, 1946.

Hans J. Morgenthau, Scientific Man Vs. Power Politics, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974 (Reprint of 1946 ed.)

Reinhold Niebuhr, The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness, N.Y.: Scribner, 1960.

George F. Kennan, Memoirs: 1925-50, Waltham, Mass.: Little-Brown, 1967.

Topic VI:

THE SECOND GREAT DEBATE: SCIENCE VS. TRADITIONALISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 36-41.

Hedley Bull, "International Theory: The Case For a Classical Approach," World Politics, April, 1966.

Morton Kaplan, "The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations," World Politics, October, 1966.

Both articles are reprinted in Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau, eds., Contending Approaches to International Politics, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969 and in Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, ed., Politics and the International System, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972.

Recommended Reading

Marion J. Levy, Jr., "Does It Matter If He's Naked?" Bawled the Child," in Knorr and Rosenau, eds., pp. 87-109.

Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau, "Tradition and Science in the Study of International Politics," in Knorr and Rosenau, eds., pp. 3-19.

Charles A. McClelland, "International Relations: Wisdom or Science?" in Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, N.Y.: Free Press, 1967, pp. 3-5.

SOME SELECTED APPROACHES TO ANALYSIS

Topic VII:

THE ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 46-64.

Recommended Reading

Pirages and Ehrlich, ARK II: Social Response to Environmental Imperatives, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1974.

Harold and Margaret Sprout, The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs, with Special Reference to International Politics, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Halford MacKinder, Democratic Ideals and Reality, N.Y.: Norton, 1962.

Harold and Margaret Sprout, "Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, pp. 41-56.

Richard A. Falk, This Endangered Planet: Prospects & Proposals for Human Survival, N.Y.: Random House, 1971.

Kenneth Boulding, The Meaning of the Twentieth Century: The Great Transition, Scranton, Pa.: Harper-Row, 1964.

H. Brown, The Challenge of Man's Future, N.Y.: Viking, 1956.

Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes, N.Y.: Free Press, 1968.

R. Dubos, Man Adapting, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965.

Topic VIII:

THE DECISION-MAKING APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 312-344.

Recommended Reading

R. C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, Foreign-Policy Decision-Making, N.Y.: Free Press, 1962.

R. C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York: Free Press, 1969, pp. 199-206.

David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, "Types of Decision-Making," in Rosenau (above), pp. 207-216.

Sidney Verba, "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International System," in Rosenau, pp. 217-231.

Topic IX:

GAME THEORY: ON STRATEGY AND THE STRATEGISTS

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 345-378.

Recommended Reading

Steven J. Brams, Game Theory and Politics, N.Y.: Free Press, 1975.

Thomas C. Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Anatol Rapoport, Fights, Games and Debates, Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press, 1960.

John C. Harsanyi, "Game Theory and the Analysis of International Conflict," in Rosenau, pp. 370-379.

Morton A. Kaplan, "A Note on Game Theory and Bargaining," in Kaplan, ed., New Approaches to International Relations, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1968, pp. 483-518.

Topic X:

SYSTEMIC APPROACHES

Louis Rene Beres, Transforming World Politics (see key books).

Louis Rene Beres, The Management of World Power.

Beres and Targ, Part II.

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 102-137.

Recommended Reading

Morton Kaplan, "The Systems Approach to International Politics," in Kaplan, ed., New Approaches to International Relations, pp. 381-404.

Morton Kaplan, "Some Problems of International Systems Research," in International Politics Communities.

Kenneth Boulding, "Theoretical Systems and Political Reality," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. II, No. 4, December, 1958.

Jay S. Goodman, "The Concept of 'System' in International Relations Theory," Background, Vol. VIII, No. 4, February, 1965, pp. 257-268.

Anatol Rapoport, "Some Systemic Approaches to Political Theory," in David Easton, ed., Varieties of Political Theory, pp. 129-141.

Ludwig Von Bertalanffy, "General Systems Theory," General Systems, San Diego, N.Y.: Braziller, Vol. I, 1956, pp. 1-10.

J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Knorr and Verba, eds., The International System, pp. 77-92. Reprinted in Rosenau, International Politics and Foreign Policy, pp. 20-29.

Charles McClelland, "Systems and History in International Relations," General Systems, Vol. III.

Charles McClelland, "General Systems Theory in International Relations," Main Currents in Modern Thought, Vol. 12, Nov. 1955, pp. 27-34.

James Rosenau, "The Functioning of International Systems," Background, Nov. 1963.

Topic XI:

ON WORLD SYSTEMS

Raymond Aron, Peace and War, pp. 86-114.

THE WORLD SYSTEM: PRESENT AND FUTURE

Topics XII - XIV offer four dimensions for characterizing world politics. As you complete each of these topics, 1) characterize the extant system of world politics in terms of the appropriate dimension, and 2) recommend an improved (with respect to war avoidance) system of world politics in terms of that dimension. These will be discussed in class and evaluated.

Topic XII:

THE ACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS

Beres and Targ, Chapter 9 or Louis R. Beres, "New Prologues for Global Drama: The Actors and World Order," Peace and Change, June 1974.

L. R. Beres, "Managing Power in a Changing World System: The Challenge of New Actors," International Relations, November 1974.

Richard A. Falk, "The Logic of State Sovereignity Versus the Requirements of World Order," The Year Book of World Affairs, 1973, Vol. 27.

Plus, any one of the following:

Anthony Sampson, The Sovereign State of I.T.T., N.Y.: Fawcett World Library, 1974.

A. A. Said and L. R. Simmons, eds., The New Sovereigns: Multinational Corporations as World Powers, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

Richard Barnet and Ronald Muller, "Global Reach," The New Yorker, December 2 and December 9, 1974.

R. Barnet and R. Muller, Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1975.

Recommended Reading

Stanley Hoffman, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," Daedalus, Summer, 1966, pp. 862-915.

Wolfram Hanrieder, "Actor Objectives and International Systems," Journal of Politics, Feb., 1965, pp. 109-132.

Arnold Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1962, Chapter I, pp. 3-24.

John Herz, International Politics in the Atomic Age, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1959.

John Herz, "The Territorial State Revisted: Reflections on the Future of the Nation-State," in Rosenau, pp. 76-89.

Kenneth Boulding, Conflict and Defense: A General Theory, N.Y.: Harper, 1962.

Kathleen Gough, "The Crisis of the Nation-State," in Roger Fisher, ed., International Politics and Behavioral Science, pp. 41-69.

Peter Calvocoressi, World Order and the New States.

George Modelski, "Agraria and Industria: Two Models of the International System," in Knorr and Verba, pp. 118-143.

Fred W. Riggs, "The Nation-State and Other Actors," in Rosenau, pp. 90-92.

Special issues of two professional journals dealing with the multinational corporation:

1. "The Multinational Corporation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1972.
2. The International Studies Quarterly, December 1972.

Topic XIII:

THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD POLITICS

Raymond Aron, Peace and War, pp. 115-132.

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 130-137.

George Modelski, "World Power Concentrations," 1974, General Learning Press Module, copy on reserve.

Henry Kissinger, "The End of Bipolarity," in D. S. McLellan, The Theory and Practice of International Relations, pp. 96-99.

Louis Rene Beres, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and the Reliability of Alliance Commitments," The Western Political Quarterly, December, 1972, mimeo on reserve, or

Louis Rene Beres, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the Tragedy of the Commons," The Western Political Quarterly, December, 1973, mimeo on reserve, or

Louis Rene Beres, "Guerillas, Terrorists, and Polarity: New Structural Models of World Politics," The Western Political Quarterly, December 1974, mimeo on reserve.

Beres and Targ, Chapter 12.

Louis Rene Beres, "The Perils of Pentagonalism: A New Look at the 'New' Balance of World Power," International Journal of Group Tensions, June 1975, mimeo on reserve.

Recommended Reading

Chadwick Alger, "Comparison of Intranational and International Politics," APSR, June, 1963.

Stanley Hoffman, Gulliver's Troubles, or The Setting of American Foreign Policy, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Richard Rosecrance, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and the Future," JCR, Sept., 1966, Reprinted in Rosenau, pp. 325-335.

Raymond Aron, "The Anarchical Order of Power," Daedalus, Spring, 1966.

Raymond Aron, Peace and War, Chapters 13-18.

Oran R. Young, "Political Discontinuities in the International System," WP, April, 1968, reprinted in Rosenau, pp. 336-345.

Leonard Binder, "The Middle East as a Subordinate International System," WP, April, 1958.

George Liska, Imperial America: The International Politics of Primacy, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967.

Michael Brecher, "International Relations and Asian Studies: The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia," WP, Jan., 1963. Reprinted in Rosenau.

George Modelski, "International Relations and Area Studies: The Case of South-East Asia," International Relations, April, 1961.

I. William Zartman, "Africa as a Subordinate State System in International Relations," International Organization, Summer, 1967.

Z. H. Brzezinski, "The Organization of the Communist Camp," WP, Jan., 1961.

Roger Masters, "A Multi-Bloc Model of the International System," APSR, Dec., 1961.

Lord Gladwyn, "World Order and the Nation State - A Regional Approach," Daedalus, Spring, 1966.

Topic XIV

THE PROCESSES OF WORLD POLITICS

The Overarching Logic of Deterrence

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 254-278.

Beres and Targ, Chapter 8.

Louis Rene Beres, The Management of World Power, pp. 7-17.

Louis Rene Beres, "The Erroneous Logic of Deterrence," Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1974 (1), mimeo on reserve.

Plus, any one of the following:

Anatol Rapoport, Strategy and Conscience, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1964.

Bernard Brodie, Strategy in the Missile Age, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Bernard Brodie, "The Anatomy of Deterrence," in Garnett, ed., Theories of Peace and Security, N.Y.: St. Martin's, 1970.

Glenn Snyder, "Deterrence: A Theoretical Introduction," in Garnett, pp. 106-112.

Bruce Russett, "The Calculus of Deterrence," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, VII, 1963, pp. 97-109, reprinted in Rosenau, IPEP, pp. 359-369.

Raymond Aron, Peace and War, Chapter XIV.

Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners, Scranton, Pa.: Harper & Row, 1970.

Alexander L. George and Richard Smoke, Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory & Practice, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Balance of Power, Collective Security, and World Government

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 30-36.

Beres and Targ, Chapter 10.

Louis Rene Beres, The Management of World Power.

Louis Rene Beres, "World Peace Through World Law: Examining the World Government Hypothesis," International Relations, November, 1973, mimeo on reserve.

Louis Rene Beres, "Examining the Logic of World Federal Government," Publius, Fall, 1974, mimeo on reserve.

Mimeographed handouts.

Plus, any one of the following:

Dante, On World Government, Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

S. J. Hemleben, Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries, N.Y.: Garland, 1971.

Kant, Perpetual Peace, Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

Emery Reves, Anatomy of Peace, Magnolia, Mass.: Petersmith, 1945.

Inis Claude, Power and International Relations, Westminster, Md.: Random House, 1962, Chapters 6 and 7.

G. Clark and L. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law: Two Alternative Plans, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Topic XV:

THE CONTEXT OF WORLD POLITICS: NUCLEAR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY

Louis Rene Beres, The Management of World Power, pp. 18-26.

Beres and Targ, Chapter 11.

Kenneth Boulding, Peace and the War Industry, Edison, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1973.

Louis Rene Beres, "Nuclear Weapons and World Peace," Bulletin of the Peace Studies Institute, Spring, 1974, mimeo reserve.

Louis Rene Beres, "The Coming World Storm and How to Prevent It," The Colorado Quarterly, Summer 1974, mimeo on reserve.

Mimeographed handouts.

Recommended Reading

Ralph Lapp, *The Weapons Culture*, N.Y.: Norton, 1968.

Bernard and Fawn M. Brodie, *From Crossbow to H-Bomb*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1973.

Arthur Lee Burns, "From Balance to Deterrence: A Theoretical Analysis," in George Quester, *Power, Action and Interaction*, Boston: Little-Brown, 1971, pp. 181-215.

Seymour M. Hersh, *Chemical and Biological Warfare: America's Arsenal*, Indianapolis, Ind.,: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968.

U.S. Chemical Warfare Policy, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-Third Congress, Second Session, May 1974.

Glenn H. Snyder, "Balance of Power in the Missile Age," in Quester, pp. 461-475.

Michael Howard, "Military Power and International Order," in Garnett, pp. 41-49.

Klaus Knorr, "The International Purposes of Military Power," in Garnett, pp. 50-63.

Thomas C. Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence," in Garnett, pp. 64-86.

Osgood and Tucker, pp. 121-128.

Kenneth Boulding, *Conflict and Defense*, N.Y.: Harper, 1962.

John Herz, *International Politics in the Atomic Age*, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Stanley Hoffman, "Nuclear Proliferation and World Politics," in Alastair Buchan, ed., *A World of Nuclear Powers*.

Herman Kahn, "The Arms Race and World Order," in Morton Kaplan and N. Katzenbach, eds., *The Revolution in World Politics*, Huntington, N.Y.: Krieger, 1962.

Albert Wohlstetter, "Technology, Prediction, and Disorder," in Richard Rosecrance, ed., *The Dispersion of Nuclear Weapons: Strategy and Politics*, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Ciro E. Zoppo, "Nuclear Technology, Multipolarity and International Stability," *WP*, July, 1966, pp. 519-606.

Stanley Hoffman, "Roulette in the Cellar: Notes on Risk in International Relations," in Hoffman, The State of War, N.Y.: Praeger, 1965, pp. 134-159.

P. Green, Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence, N.Y.: Schoken, 1968.

Topic XVI

LEGAL ORDER IN A VIOLENT WORLD

Beres and Targ, Chapter 8.

Louis R. Beres, "World Order Orientations to International Law," mimeo on reserve.

Louis R. Beres, "On the Study of Legal Order in Future World Systems," International Interactions, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1974.

Louis, R. Beres, "International Legal Policy Studies," Policy Study Journal, Spring 1975.

Also browse through any one of the following:

P. E. Corbett, Law and Society in the Relations of States, N.Y.: Harcourt-Brace, 1951.

Hans Kelsen, Principles of International Law, N.Y.: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1966.

H. L. A. Hart, The Concept of Law, Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1961.

W. Friedmann, The Changing Structure of International Law, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Topic XVII

ECONOMIC ORDER IN A VIOLENT WORLD

Recommended Reading

Jagdish N. Bhagwati, Economics and World Order: From the 1970's to the 1990's, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1972.

David P. Calleo and Benjamin M. Rowland, America and the World Political Economy, Atlantic Dreams & National Realities, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1973.

Seymour Melman, The Permanent War Economy: American Capitalism in Decline, N.Y. Simon & Schuster, 1974.

The Planetary Product in 1972: Systems in Disarray, Special Report, Department of State, December 1973.

The Beginnings of a New International Economic Order, Banco Nacional De Comercio Exterior, S. A., May 1974.

International Economic Survey, The New York Times, Part II, Sunday, January 26, 1975.

Topic XVIII

ECONOMICS AND VIOLENCE: THE NEXUS BETWEEN WAR AND THE SALE OF ARMS

Recommended Reading

"The Arms Dealers: Guns for All," Time, March 3, 1975.

The International Transfer of Conventional Arms, A Report to the Congress from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, April 12, 1974.

Topic XIX

THREE IMAGES OF WAR

THE FIRST IMAGE: MAN

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 196-232.

Kenneth Waltz, Man, The State and War: A Theoretical Analysis, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1959, Chapters I, II, and III, pp. 1-79.

Recommended Reading

Leon Bramson and George Goethals, eds., War, N.Y.: Basic, 1968.

Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative: A Personal Inquiry into the Animal Origins of Property & Nations, Paterson, N.J.: Atheneum, 1966.

THE SECOND IMAGE: THE SYSTEM

Waltz, Chapters VI and VII, pp. 159-223.

Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, N.Y.: Washington Square Press, 1969, Chapter XIII.

WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT

REORDERING THE PLANET: CONSTRUCTING ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURES

At the end of the course, each student will be expected to produce a document which offers a design or blueprint for an improved system of world order. Each document will be evaluated in terms of its 1) desirability (from the standpoint of alleviating major dangers), and 2) feasibility.

TOPIC XX

THE PROBLEM, OR WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE WORLD

D. F. Fleming, The Issues of Survival.

Richard A. Falk, This Endangered Planet, New York: Random House, 1971.

Brown, World Without Borders, N.Y.: Random House, 1972, and Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect, N.Y.: Norton, 1974.

Population, Environment, and World Food Program Kits of UNA/USA.

Recommended Reading

NUCLEAR DOOMSDAY

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, September 1974, January 1975, and April 1975 issues.

The Defense Monitor, a monthly publication of the Center for Defense Information, 122 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

WAR

Roy L. Prosterman, Surviving to 3000: An Introduction to the Study of Lethal Conflict, N. Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1972.

Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1973.

Raymond Aron, On War, N.Y.: Norton, 1968.

Hannah Arendt, On Violence, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, Inc., 1970.

Robert Osgood and R. W. Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins, 1967.

William Golding, Lord of the Flies, N.Y.: Putnam, 1959.

Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents, N.Y.: Norton, 1962.

Raymond Aron, *The Century of Total War*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, N.Y.: Grove Press, 1965.

Philip Green, *Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence*, N.Y.: Schoken, 1968.

Joseph Heller, *Catch-22*, N.Y.: Dell, 1976.

Robert J. Lifton, *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1976.

John Hersey, *Hiroshima*, N.Y.: Knopf, 1972.

Marshall McLuhan, *War and Peace in the Global Village: An Inventory of Some of the Current Spastic Situations That Could Be Eliminated By More Feed Forward*, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., *Slaughterhouse-Five or The Children's Crusade*, N.Y.: Dell, 1974.

Ralph K. White, *Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars*, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970.

Richard Wasserstrom, *War and Morality*, Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1970.

Richard J. Barnet, *The Economy of Death*, Paterson, N.J.: Atheneum, 1969.

Paul Bohannan, ed., *Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Conflict*, Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1976.

Kenneth Boulding, *Conflict and Defense: A General Theory*, N.Y.: Harper, 1962.

Alastair Buchan, *War in Modern Society*, N.Y.: International Publishing Service, 1966.

J. Glenn Gray, *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle*, Scranton, Pa.: Harper & Row, 1973.

Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War*, N.Y.: Free Press, 1969.

Klaus Knorr, *On the Uses of Military Power in the Nuclear Age*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

C. Wright Mills, *The Causes of World War Three*.

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966.

Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

A complete *Bibliography on World Conflict and Peace* prepared by Elise Boulding and J. Robert Passmore can be obtained for $2.50 from the Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado.

POPULATION

Scientific American, September 1974.

George Borgstrom, *The Hungry Planet*, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1965.

Lester R. Brown, *Seeds of Change: The Green Revolution and Development in the 70's*, N.Y.: Praeger, 1970.

Nazli Choucri, *Population Dynamics and International Violence*, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, June 1974 issue on Population.

Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, Mattituck, N.Y.: American Reprint Co./River City Press, 1975.

Garret Hardin, *Population, Evolution, and Birth Control: A Collage of Controversial Readings*.

ENVIRONMENT

The Ecologist, January 1972 issue.

Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle*, N.Y.: Knopf, 1971.

Herman E. Daly, ed., *The Steady State Economy*, San Francisco: Freeman, 1973.

Paul and Anne Ehrlich, *Population, Resources, Environment*, San Francisco: Freeman, 1972.

Harrison Brown, *The Challenge of Man's Future*, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1956.

Lynton K. Caldwell, *Environment: A Challenge for Modern Society*, Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1970.

Lynton K. Caldwell, *In Defense of Earth: International Protection of the Biosphere*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1972.

Clifton Fadiman and Jean White, *Ecocide... & Thoughts Toward Survival*, Palo Alto, Ca.: Page-Picklin, 1971.

Frank Graham, Jr., Since Silent Spring, N.Y.: Fawcett World Library, 1974.

Emanuel F. Mesthene, Technological Change: Its Impact on Man and Society, N.Y.: New American Library, 1970.

Rene Dubos, Man Adapting, New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965.

Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet, N.Y.: Norton, 1972.

WORLD FOOD CRISIS

Georg Borgstrom, The Hungry Planet, New York: Macmillan, 1965.

Georg Borgstrom, Too Many, New York: Macmillan, 1969

Lester Brown, By Bread Alone, New York: Praeger, 1974.

Alan Berg, The Nutrition Factor, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1973.

Ellen Bushman Ewald, Recipes for a Small Planet, New York: Ballantine Books, 1973.

Francis Moore Lappe, Diet for a Small Planet, New York, Ballantine Books, 1971.

Paul and Arthur Simon, The Politics of World Hunger, New York: Harpers Magazine, 1973.

Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty, New York: Vintage Books, 1971.

Magnus Pyke, Man and Food, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

Jean Mayer, ed., U.S. Nutrition Policies in the Seventies, San Francisco: Freeman, 1973.

E. F. Schmacher, Small is Beautiful, New York: Harpers, 1974.

World Hunger: Causes and Remedies, a report from the Transnational Institute which was presented at the Rome Conference, is available from the Institute for Policy Studies, 1909 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009.

World Food Supply, a report prepared by the Management Institute for National Development is available from them for free at 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. They will charge you for postage and will mail it out fourth class unless you specify you want it first class.

In addition to the above sources, several of the major news magazines have offered special essays and supplements on the world food crisis recently. For example, consider "Food, Famine and Ideology" in The Wall Street Journal, Monday, January 20, 1975; "Famine Casts Its Grim Global Shadow," Time, May 13, 1974; "A Hungry World Struggles for More Food," The New York Times, Part IV, International Economic Survey, Sunday, January 26, 1975; "The World Food Crisis," Time, Special Section, November 11, 1974.

OIL CRISIS

Peter R. Odell, Oil and World Power: Background to the Oil Crisis, N.Y.: Taplinger, 1975.

A Time To Choose: America's Energy Future, Energy Policy Project of the Ford Foundation, 1974.

Robert W. Tucker, "Oil: The Issue of American Intervention," Commentary, January, 1975.

"Faisal and Oil: Driving Toward a New World Order," Time, January 6, 1975.

International Economic Survey, The New York Times, Sunday, January 26, 1975.

Daniel Yergin, "The Economic, Political, Military Solution," The New York Times Magazine, February 16, 1975.

Topic XXI

THE PERVERTED PRIORITIES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE

Ruth Leger Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, 1976, published under the auspices of the Institute for World Order, New York

RESPONDING TO THE PROBLEM

Topic XXII

SOME INTERESTING IDEAS FOR PLANNING THE FUTURE

General

Beres and Targ, Part I.

Harpers Magazine "Wraparound," on reserve.

Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, N.Y.: Free Press, 1975.

D. Livingston, "Science Fiction Models of Future World Order Systems," *International Organization*, Spring, 1971, 254-270.

Reports To The Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind

Meadows, *et. al.*, *The Limits to Growth* (First Report), N.Y.: Universe Books, 1972.

Mesarovic and Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point* (Second Report), N.Y.: E. P. Dutton, 1974.

INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ORDER, WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT

Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On The Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's*, N.Y.: Free Press, 1975.

Johan Galtung, *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective*, N.Y.: Free Press (forthcoming).

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative*, N.Y.: Free Press, 1974.

Ali A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective*, N.Y.: Free Press, 1976.

Recommended Reading

David Edwards, *Creating a New World Politics: From Conflict to Cooperation*, N.Y.: Mckay, 1973.

Alvin Toffler, ed., *The Futurists*, N.Y.: Random House, 1972.

W. Warren Wagar, *Building the City of Man*, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1971.

Aldous Huxley, *Island*, N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1962.

Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin, 1966.

B. F. Skinner, *Walden Two* and *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*.

James Hilton, *Lost Horizon*, N.Y.: Washington Square Press, 1972 (c. 1936).

Voltaire, *Candide*, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969.

Robert Theobald and J. M. Scott, *Teg's 1994: An Anticipation of the Near Future*, Chicago: The Swallow Press, 1972.

D. F. Jones, The Fall of Colossus, N.Y.: Berkley, 1975.

George Stewart, Earth Abides, N.Y.: Fawcett World Library, 1976.

D. Lessing, Briefing for a Descent into Hell, N.Y.: Bantam, 1972.

J. C. Brown, The Troika Incident, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970.

R. Buckminster Fuller, Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth, Carbondale, Ill.: S. Illinois Press, 1969.

Garret Hardin, Exploring New Ethics for Survival: The Voyage of Spaceship Beagle, N.Y.: Penguin, 1973.

Topic XXIII

MATTERS OF METHOD

Louis R. Beres, "On Studying World Order: A Plea for Systematic Inquiry," Policy Sciences, December, 1973.

Louis R. Beres, "Reordering the Planet: The Four Phases of World Order Design," in Beres and Targ, eds., Planning for Global Design: Essays on the Study of Alternative World Futures, N.Y.: Praeger, 1975.

Recommended Reading

Robert Boguslaw, The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

Franklin Tugwell, ed., Search for Alternatives: Public Policy and the Study of the Future, Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop, 1973.

W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne, and R. Chin, eds., The Planning of Change, N.Y.: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1969.

Ervin Laszlo, A Strategy for the Future: The Systems Approach to World Order, N.Y.: Braziller, 1972.

Ervin Laszlo, ed., The World System: Models, Norms, Variations, N.Y.: Braziller, 1973.

Topic XXIV

MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE

THE CITY OF MAN: THE IDEA OF HUMAN UNITY AND COSMOPOLIS

Louis Rene Beres, "The Errors of Cosmopolis," Philosophy Today, Nov., 1974, mimeo on reserve.

Beres and Targ, Chapter 6.

W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man.

Recommended Reading

Kenneth and Elise Boulding, Introduction to the Global Society, a Learning Package.

Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1964.

Epictetus, Discourses, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, The Phenomenon of Man, N.Y.: Harper & Row.

Pierre Teilhard De Chardin, The Future of Man, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1969.

Johann Gottfried Von Herder, Ideas on the Philosophy of the Human Race: Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968.

Dante, De Monarchia (On World Government), Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

Alberico Gentili, De Iuri Belii Libri Tres, London: Clarendon, 1933.

Emeric Cruce, The New Cyneas, N.Y.: Garland, 1975.

Voltaire, Candide, N.Y.: St. Martin's, 1963.

Goethe, Egmont, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

Gottheld Ephrain Lessing, Nathan the Wise, N.Y.: Ungar, 1955.

Thorstein Veblen, The Nature of Peace: An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace & The Terms of its Perpetuation, N.Y.: A. M. Kelley, 1964.

Nietzsche, Human, All-Too Human, N.Y.: Gordon Press, 1974.

Pichte, Die Grundzug Des Gegenwartigen Zeitalters.

Santayana, Reason in Society.

Aristophanes, Lysistrata.

Sri Aurobindo, Human Cycle, The Ideal of Human Unity, N.Y.: International Pubuns Service, 1971.

Lionel Curtis, Civitas Dei.

Julian Huxley, Religion Without Revelation.

Karl Jasper, The Future of Mankind, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Karl Jasper, The Origin and Goal of History, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953.

Hugh Miller, The Community of Man, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1949.

Lewis Mumford, The Conduct of Life, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, 1960.

Erich Fromm, The Sane Society, N.Y.: Fawcett World Library, 1976.

Crane Britton, From Many One.

Robert A. Nisbet, The Quest for Community, London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Topic XXV

MUST WE TRANSFORM THE INDIVIDUAL?

Louis Rene Beres, "Transforming Man: The Human Roots of World Order Reform," mimeo on reserve.

Louis Rene Beres, "Behavioral Strategies of World Order Reform," International Journal of Group Tensions, June 1974, mimeo on reserve.

Recommended Reading

Goethe, Faust.

Hermann Hesse, Demian, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1965.

J. F. Steiner, Treblinka, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1962.

Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America, N.Y.: Bantam, 1971.

Alvin Toffler, Future Shock, N.Y.: Random House, 1970.

Erich Kahler, The Tower and the Abyss, N.Y.: Braziller, 1957.

Thomas Mann, "Mario and the Magician," in Death in Venice & Seven Other Stories, N.Y.: Random House, 1966.

Franz Kafka, The Metamorphosis, N.Y.: Bantam, 1972.

Sri Aurobindo, The Mind of Light, N.Y.: E. P. Dutton, 1971.

Topic XXVI

PEACE THROUGH LAW

Raymond Aron, Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966, pp. 366-402.

Topic XXVII

PEACE THROUGH EMPIRE

Aron, pp. 403-436.

Topic XXVIII

PEACE THROUGH ARMS CONTROL AND/OR DISARMAMENT

Recommended Reading

Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., ed., Contrasting Approaches to Strategic Arms Control, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.

G. W. Rathjens, A. Chayes, and J. P. Ruina, Nuclear Arms Control: Agreements, Process and Impact, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1974.

Albert Wohlstetter, "Clocking the Strategic Arms Race," The Wall Street Journal, Tuesday, September 24, 1974.

"Arms Control," special issue of Stanford Journal of International Studies, Spring 1972.

Strategy for Peace, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Conference Reports, available from The Stanley Foundation, Muscatine, Iowa.

R. N. Rosecrance, Problems of Nuclear Proliferation, Security Studies Project, UCLA, 1966.

J. Batten, Arms Control and the Problem of Evasion, Center of International Studies Research Monograph, Princeton University, 1962.

"Arms Control," Readings from Scientific American, Freeman, 1973.

Topic XXIX

MUST WE TRANSFORM STATES?

Louis Rene Beres, "Transforming World Politics: The National Roots of World Peace," University of Denver, 1975 (mimeo).

Louis Rene Beres, "Systemic Foundations of National Interest: Cornerstone for Planetary Design," Bulletin of the Peace Studies Institute, October 1973, mimeo on reserve.

Topic XXX

THE HUMAN ASPECT OF CONFLICT

Preface to Louis Rene Beres, The Management of World Power.

Plus, any one of the following:

E. M. Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front, N.Y.: Fawcett World Library, 1974.

Goethe, Egmont.

Euripedes, Troades.

Hersey, Hiroshima (see war).

Heller, Catch-22 (see war).

Crane, The Red Badge of Courage, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1962.

The following films are also interesting to this topic: All Quiet on The Western Front; The Bridge; Mash; Catch-22; The Hill; Hiroshima Mon Amour; King and Country; Lord of the Flies; The War Game.

Topic XXXI

THE PERSONAL IMPERATIVE

Recommended Reading

C. Beitz and Michael Washburn, Creating the Future: A Guide to Living and Working for Social Change, available from the Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, N.Y.C. 10036.

George Lakey, Strategy for a Living Revolution, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973.

Topic XXXII

FINAL DISCUSSION ON PROPOSED ALTERNATIVES

Mimeographed handouts.

SOCIOLOGY OF GLOBAL SYSTEMS
Sociology 459

Elise Boulding
Spring, 1976

Department of Sociology
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

TEXTS

Laszlo, Ervin (ed.), The World System: Models, Norms, Variations, New York: George Braziller, 1973.

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (eds.), Transnational Relations and World Politics, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Maruyama, Magoroh, and Arthur Harkins (eds.), Cultures Beyond The Earth, New York: Vintage Books, 1975.

Mendlovitz, Saul (ed.), On The Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's, New York: The Free Press, 1975.

"Readings in the Sociology of Global Systems," compiled by Elise Boulding, mimeo.

COURSE OUTLINE

January 20	Introduction to Global Systems	Class Autobiographies
January 22	New Careers in the World Community	Map Assignment #1 Kin and Travel Networks
January 27	The Character of NGO's READ: Angell, in "Readings"	Map Assignment #2 NGO Networks
January 29	Ways to Think about the Planet READ: Laszlo, Part I	Map Assignment #3 Underside Perspectives on the Globe
February 1	Sunday evening meeting at 890 Willowbrook Rd., 7:00-9:00 p.m.	Exercise in the creation of human spaces

	Continue Laszlo discussion Part I	
February 3	Ways to Think about the Planet READ: Laszlo, Part II	
February 5	Ways to Think about the Planet Continue Laszlo, Part II	
February 10	No class	
February 12	Introduction to Boulder-in-the-World/World-in-Boulder Project READ: Alger, "City in the World," in "Readings"	
February 15	Sunday evening meeting at 890 Willowbrook	Meet Community people involved in Boulder-in-the-World Project
February 17	Take-home exam: May be written during class with guidance as needed from teaching associates	
February 19	Take-home exam: continued	
February 24	Class organized into interest groups for community study READ: Judge, in "Readings"	
February 26	A Non-Hierarchical View of the World Finish Judge, in "Readings"	Initiate Community Study in Progress
March 2	Transnational Relations: How They Developed READ: Nye and Keohane, Part I	
March 4	Transnational Relations: How They Developed Nye and Keohane, Part I, continued	
March 9	Different Kinds of Transnationals READ: Nye and Keohane, Part II	
March 11	Different Kinds of Transnationals Nye and Keohane, Part II, continued	
March 16	World Issues in a Transnational Framework READ: Nye and Keohane, Part III	
March 18	World Issues in a Transnational Framework Nye and Keohane, Part III, continued	

SPRING VACATION

March 30	Peacemaking Potentials of Transnationalism READ: Nye and Keohane, Part IV	
April 1	Peacemaking Potentials of Transnationalism Nye and Keohane, Part IV, continued	
April 6	Alternative Global Futures Examined READ and prepare discussion of one preferred world for the 1990's in Mendlovitz (choose one out of the eight described)	
April 8	Class critique of assumptions and values in the world order models	
April 13	Measurement of Planetary Potentials: Introduction to UN Data READ: Boulding, "Measurement," in "Readings"	
April 15	Measurement continued	
April 20	Reports on Boulder-in-the-World Networks READ: Begin Cultures Beyond Earth	
April 22	Reports, continued	
April 24	9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m., ZANDAR world simulation, IBS #1, for entire class	
April 27	Experiments in Culture Creation: Satellite Communities in Space READ: Finish Cultures Beyond Earth	
April 29	All-morning meeting, 9:30-12:30, with lunch served, at 890 Willowbrook.	Experiments in Culture Creation
May 4	Completion of Boulder-in-the-World Reports Speaking to Community Groups	
May 6	Completion of Boulder-in-the-World Reports Speaking to Community Groups, continued	
May 11	Take-Home Final Exam given out; teaching associates available for guidance.	
May 14	Friday. Final Exams due.	

ASSIGNMENTS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED FOR COURSE:

Map assignments, #'s 1, 2 and 3

Take-Home Midterm, Take-Home Final

Written report on Boulder-in-the-World Project; may be turned in as group project, but each individual contribution, time spent, contacts made, must be clearly identified.

Measurement Exercise with United Nations data (complete in class)

Experiment in Culture Creation (to be completed in class or at home as preferred)

INTRODUCTION TO WORLD ORDER
Politics 336

Richard A. Falk
Fall, 1976

Department of Politics
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ

This course is devoted to studying the politics of transformation at the global level. Its coherence comes from a number of underlying themes:

- What types of transformation are desirable? possible? probable?
- What is the connection between individual and group transformation and global reform?
- How will beneficial forms of transformation come about? Who are the agents of change?
- What are the main obstacles?

To deal with "world order" is to deal with issues of justice as well as problems of order.

The concerns of the course should be approached in a tentative fashion. There is no general agreement as to facts, interpretation of facts, political consequences, tactics and strategies of change, or image of a desirable and attainable system of world order. Indeed, the main goal of the course is to convince students of the importance of these issues at this historical juncture and to encourage each student to fashion their own response. Such a goal, unfortunately, leads to a rather long list of required readings.

Required Readings

David H. Blake and Robert S. Walters, The Politics of Global Economic Relations, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Dom Helder Camara, Revolution Through Peace, New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

R. A. Falk, Future Worlds, Headline Series, No. 229, New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1976.

R. A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, New York: Free Press, 1975.

Suzanne Gowan, George Lakey, William Moyer, Richard Taylor, Moving Toward a New Society, Philadelphia, PA: New Society Press, 1976.

Robert Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect, New York: Norton, 1974.

Ursula LeGuin, The Dispossessed, New York: Avon, 1974.

Herman Kahn, et al., The Next 200 Years, New York: Morrow, 1976.

Arthur Mendel, ed., Essential Works of Marxism, New York: Bantam, 1971.

Andrei Sakharov, My Country and the World, New York: Vintage, 1975.

Several additional books are integral to the concerns of the course and are highly recommended.

Doris Lessing, Memoirs of a Survivor, New York: Knopf, 1975.

Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., On the Creation of a Just World Order, New York: Free Press, 1975.

W. Eugene Smith and Aileen Smith, Minamata, New York: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1975.

W. William Wagar, Building the City of Man, New York: Grossman, 1971.

COURSE OUTLINE

Starred (*) assignments are recommended: all others are required.

Part One: Framework

I. An Introduction to the Subject

Falk, Future Worlds, pp. 1-62.

G. Tyler Miller, Jr., Living in the Environment: Concepts, Problems and Alternatives, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1974.

II. Two Views of the Future

Heilbroner, pp. 13-144.

Kahn, et al., pp. 1-57, 181-226.

*John Maddox, The Doomsday Syndrome, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

III. The Present World Order System: The Political Dimension

Henry Kissinger, American Foreign Policy, New York: Norton, 1969, pp. 9-97, 241-268.

Stanley Hoffman, "Obstinate or Obsolete: The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," Daedalus (Summer 1966), pp. 862-915.

Franz Schurmann, The Logic of World Power, New York: Pantheon, 1974, pp. 127-142.

*Henry Kissinger, The World Restored, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973, pp. 1-28.

*Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System, New York: Academic Press, 1974.

*E. H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars 1919-1939, New York: Macmillan, 1959.

*Seyom Brown, New Forces in World Politics, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1974.

IV. The Present World Order System: The Economic Dimension

Robert Gilpin, "Three Models of the Future," International Organization 29: 37-60, Winter (1975).

"The Cocoyac Declaration" in Guy Erb and Valeriana Kallab, Beyond Dependency: The Developing World Speaks Out, Over-Development Council, 1975, pp. 170-176.

Blake and Walters, pp. 1-142.

*Richard J. Barnet and Ronald Muller, Global Reach: The Politics of the Multinational Corporation, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974.

Samir Amin, "Toward A Structural Crises of World Capitalism," Socialist Revolution 5: 9-44, April 1975.

*Samuel Permer, "Self-Reliant Development in an 'Independent' World" and Ali Mazrui, "The New Interdependence" in Erb and Kallab, pp. 3-27, 38-57.

*C. Fred Bergsten, Robert O. Keohane, and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "International Economics and International Politics: A Framework for Analysis," International Organization 29: 3-36, Winter (1975).

*Robert Gilpin, U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation: The Political Economy of U.S. Foreign Investment, New York: Basic Books, 1966.

*Peter Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change, New York: Basic Books, 1975, esp. pp. ix-xiii.

*Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, pp. 350-412.

V. The Present World Order System: The Cultural Dimension

*Doris Lessing, Memoirs of a Survivor.

Renee Weber, "The Reluctant Tradition." (on reserve at the library)

William Irwin Thompson, Evil and World Order, New York: Harper & Row, 1976, pp. 1-34, 79-111.

*William Irwin Thompson, Passages About Earth, New York: Harper & Row, 1974, esp. pp. 10-29, 150-191.

Jose A. Arguelles, The Transformative Vision: Reflections on the Nature and History of Human Expression, Berkeley, CA: Shambhala, 1975, pp. 1-27, 288-301.

*Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, The Phenomenon of Man, London: Collins, 1966.

*Christopher Dawson, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture, Garden City, NY: Image, 1958.

*Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle, Angkor: An Essay on Art and Imperialism, New York: Vintage, 1971.

Part Two: Some Perspective on Political Transformation

VI. Perspective 1: State Socialism--Marxism, Leninism, Maoism

Arthur P. Mendel, "Introduction" to Mendel, ed., Essential Works of Marxism, pp. 1-12.

Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in Mendel, pp. 13-44.

Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," in Mendel, pp. 45-82.

Mendel, "Lenin and Premature Socialist Revolution," in Mendel, pp. 83-102.

*Lenin, "State and Revolution," in Mendel, pp. 103-198.

Sakharov, pp. 3-109, esp. 3-9, 99-109.

Mao Tse-Tung, "On Practice," "Combat Liberalism," in Mendel, pp. 497-516.

*Schurmann, pp. 328-398.

*F. Dostoyevski, The Devils, Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1953.

*R. Garaudy, Marxism in the Twentieth Century, New York: Scribner's, 1970.

VII. Perspective 2: Libertarian Socialism

R. A. Falk, "Anarchism and World Order" (mimeo).

Ursula Leguin, The Dispossessed.

*Sam Dolgoff, ed., Bakunin on Anarchy, New York: Knopf, 1972.

*Leonard Krimerman and Lewis Perry, eds., Patterns of Anarchy, Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1966.

*George Woodcock, Anarchism, New York: Meridian, 1962.

VIII. Perspective 3: Militant Non-Violence

Camara, pp. 1-149.

Oriana Fallaci, "Interview with Helder Camara," in Interview with History, New York: Liveright, 1976, pp. 288-309.

Gene Sharp, "Disregarded History: The Power of Non-Violent Action," Fellowship 42: 3-11, March 1976.

*Mohandas Gandhi, Gandhi on Non-Violence, Philadelphia, PA: New Directions, 1965.

*Gene Sharp, The Politics of Non-Violent Action, Boston: Porter Sargent, 1974.

*Kay Boyle and Justine Van Gundy, eds., Enough of Dying, New York: Laurel, 1972.

*Dave Dellinger, Revolutionary Nonviolence, Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1971.

IX. Perspective 4: Social Movement for Global Reform

Saul H. Mendlovitz, "Introduction," to Mendlovitz, ed., On the Creation of a Just World Order, pp. vii-xvii.

Ali Mazrui, "World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus," in Mendlovitz, pp. 1-38.

Rajni Kothari, "World Politics and World Order: The Issue of Autonomy," in Mendlovitz, pp. 39-70.

Johan Galtung, "Nonterritorial Actors and the Problem of Peace," in Mendlovitz, pp. 151-188.

Paul Lin, "Development Guided by Values: Comments on China's Road and Its Implication," in Mendlovitz, pp. 259-296.

*"Discussion and Evaluation of World Order Models Project," Forum for Correspondence and Contact 8: 71-91, June 1976 (mimeo).

*W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man.

*Granville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law (3rd rev. ed.), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. xi-liv.

Part Three: Dimensions of Challenge

X. An Integrated Overview

Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, pp. 56-149, 350-412.

Gowen, et al., pp. 21-162.

XI. Food/Population

Miller, Jr., pp. 89-149, E-16 - E-28.

Kahn, pp. 26-57, 106-138.

*Garret Hardin, Exploring New Ethics for Survival, New York: Viking, 1972.

*Lester Brown (with Erik Eckholm), By Bread Alone, New York: Praeger, 1974.

*Philip H. Trezise, Rebuilding Grain Reserves, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1976.

*Erik Eckholm, Losing Ground: Environmental Stress and World Food Prospects, New York: Norton, 1976.

XII. Energy/Environment/Quality of Life

Miller, Jr., pp. 215-244, 265, 322, E-69 - E-85.

Kahn, pp. 58-105, 139-180.

*Walter C. Patterson, Nuclear Power, Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1976.

*Mason Willrich, The Global Politics of Nuclear Energy, New York: Praeger, 1971.

*Theodore Taylor and Mason Willrich, Nuclear Theft: Risks and Safeguards, Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1974.

*Fred Cottrell, Energy and Society, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955.

*Barry Commoner, The Poverty of Power, New York: Knopf, 1976.

XIII. War/Peace

Kenneth Waltz, Man, The State, and War, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959, pp. 1-15.

John Stoessinger, Why Nations Go to War, New York: St. Martin's, 1974, pp. 1-32, 173-230.

Robert Johansen, "The Vladivostok Accord: A Case Study in U.S. Foreign Policy on the Prospects for Global Reform," WOS Research Memoranda, Princeton University.

*James Turner Johnson, Ideology, Reason and the Limitation of War, Princeton, 1975.

*Richard J. Barnet, The Roots of War, New York: Atheneum, 1972.

*R. V. Sampson, The Discovery of Peace, New York: Pantheon, 1973.

*Erich Fromm, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness, New York: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1973.

Part Four: System Change

XIV. Designing, Prescribing, Achieving A Just World Polity

Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, pp. 56-349.

XV. Envisioning the Future

Smith and Smith, Minimata.

Gerard K. O'Neill, "The Colonization of Space," Physics Today, Sept. 1974, pp. 32-40.

Elise Boulding, "Religion, Futurism, and Models of Social Change," in Robert Bundy, ed., Images of the Future: The Twenty-first Century and Beyond, Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1972, pp. 169-181 (see also essay by Polak, Bundy, Stanley, Burhoe.

Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, pp. 413-495.

*John Muir, The Velvet Monkeywrench, Santa Fe, NM: John Muir Publications, 1973.

XVI. Building the Future

Gowan, et al., pp. 217-282.

PROBLEMS IN PEACE, JUSTICE, & THE PROCESSES OF CHANGE

Social Sciences 173

Karl W. Deutsch
Fall, 1976
M,W: 2-3:30

Social Sciences
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

COURSE RELATED INFORMATION

Course Requirements

Requirements are a take-home, midterm exam due Nov. 1; a ten page paper due Dec. 15 on a topic of your choice; and a final exam. There may be additional assignments in sections.

Course Format and Functions

Professor Karl W. Deutsch, Stanfield Professor of International Peace and a member of the Government Department, will lay the groundwork for the course and give key lectures throughout the semester. The guest lecturers will provide us with first-hand knowledge of the many problems related to peace and justice. All are professors at Harvard and its graduate schools except for Hayward Alker, who teaches political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Regina Zeigler, who is associated with the Center for Population Studies and teaches Dudley 100; and Gene Sharp, who is a Research Associate at Harvard's Program for Science and International Affairs.

We make no claim to cover all the issues related to war and peace, oppression and social justice, poverty and economic well-being, pollution and environmental balance, or alienation and participation. However, we do bring many of them up for question and examination and hope to integrate them into a web of global intricacies and interdependencies. In the latter part of the course some attention is directed towards how these problems impact on the everyday lives of people and alternative means for coping with those dilemmas and crises.

Sections meeting once each week for 90 minutes are an important part of the course, serving the functions of continuity and of integrating new material and ideas into the themes of the course. To enhance this experience, we try to keep the sections small in size.

Readings were assigned by the professors as background for their lectures and should be read beforehand.

Class format will vary with lecturers, but we hope that one and a half hours will allow time for both lecture and questions.

Why take this course? There are many individual reasons for taking Social Science 173, but we think it could be of particular usefulness to: Freshmen and Sophmores to introduce you to a number of professors at Harvard who are committed to working on the problems of peace and justice in the world today. This interdisciplinary exposure can help you in finding areas of interest, future courses to take, professors to study with, and possibly an appropriate major field of study; Juniors and Seniors can gain an enhanced picture of contemporary global issues. And the interdisciplinary perspective of Social Science 173 can add a new complement to respective majors.

Second semester. Social Science 173 will be followed by three courses sponsored by International Studies. They are: Social Science 174, "Coping with International Conflict," Professor Roger Fisher; Government 182, "Seminar on Peace Reserach: Topics, Cases and Methods," Professor Karl W. Deutsch; "United Nations Law Seminar; Problems of World Order," Professor Louis B. Sohn. In addition to these courses, we call students' attention to the related courses listed in the International Studies course guide.

Course Outline & Required Readings

INTRODUCTION

Sept. 27 Peace Research Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Karl W. Deutsch, "Peace Research: The Need, the Problems, and the Prospects," Middlebury lecture, 1972.

Sept. 29 World Order Values and Systems Levels Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Karl W. Deutsch, The Analysis of International Relations, Prentice-Hall, Inc. (1968), Chapters 1 and 2.

Ervin Laszlo, A Strategy for the Future: The Systems Approach to World Order, George Braziller, New York (1974), pages 15-20, 28-41. Pages 203-225 optional.

Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, The Free Press, New York (1975), pages 1, 11-30.

Oct. 4 Nationalism — Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Karl W. Deutsch, "Nationalism in Developing Countries," and "The Future of Nationalism," in *Nationalism and its Alternatives*, Alfred Knopf, New York (1969), Chapters 3 and 6.

Oct. 6 Intercultural Future Perspective — Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer

Edwin O. Reischauer, *Toward the 21st Century: Education for a Changing World*, Alfred Knopf, New York (1973), pages 75-131 are required; 19-31 suggested.

Oct. 11 Columbus Day (holiday)

Oct. 13 Quantitative Skills — Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1976* (WMSE Publications, 1976).

WORLD POLITICS

Oct. 18 Nuclear Proliferation — Prof. Thomas Schelling

Thomas C. Schelling, "Who Will Have the Bomb?", *International Security*, Summer 1976, Vol. 1, No. 1.

Lewis A. Dunn, "Managing a Proliferated World."

Oct. 20 Arms Control & Disarmament — Prof. Paul Doty

Barry Carter, "Nuclear Strategy and Nuclear Weapons," *Scientific American*, Vol. 230, 5 (May 1974), pages 20-31.

Paul Doty, "Controlling Strategic Competition Between the Soviet Union and the United States," Testimony Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Hearings on Detente, September 12, 1974.

Herbert York, "The Race Begins: Nuclear Weapons and Over-kill," *Race to Oblivion*, Simon and Schuster, New York (1970), Chapter 2.

Paul Doty, *et. al.*, "The Race to Control Nuclear Arms," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1976.

Oct. 25 International Interdependence Prof. Joseph Nye Jr.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Independence and Interdependence," Foreign Policy, No. 22, Spring 1976, pages 130-161.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organizations, Little, Brown & Co., Boston (1971), Chapter 2: "Regional Integration: Concept and Measurement," (summary of Chapter 1 included).

Oct. 27 The United Nations and World Government Prof. Louis B. Sohn

United Nations Document, Review of the Charter of the United Nations (1975) pages 1-39.

Inis Claude, Swords Into Plowshares, 4th edition, Random House, New York (1972), Chapter 4 and an abstract of Chapter 3.

Take home distributed.

Nov. 1 Coping with International Conflict Prof. Roger Fisher

Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners, Harper & Row (1969), Chapters 3 and 5 ("Making Threats is Not Enough" and "Improve What Happens to Them If They Are Good") are required; entire book is recommended.

Nov. 3 Fights, Games, and Debates Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Anatol Rappaport, Conflict in a Man-Made Environment, Penguin Books (1974), pages 133-183, 224-250.

JUSTICE, TECHNOLOGY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Nov. 8 Imperialism, Violence and Justice Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Karl W. Deutsch, "Imperialism and Neocolonialism," The Papers of the Peace Science Society (International) Vol. 23, 1974.

Johan Galtung, "Structural Theory of Imperialism," Journal of Peace Research, No. 2, 1971, pages 81-117.

Taylor Branch, "The Trial of the C.I.A.," The New York Times Magazine, September 12, 1976.

Nov. 10 Legitimacy and Authority Prof. Herbert Kelman

Herbert Kelman, "Patterns of Personal Involvement in the National System: A Social Psychological Analysis of Political Legitimacy," in J. M. Rosenau (ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, (2 vol. ed.), The Free Press, New York (1969), pages 226-288.

Herbert Kelman, "Violent Men: America's Response to the Trial of Lt. William Calley," Psychology Today, June 1972.

Herbert Kelman, "Education for the Concept of a Global Society," Social Education, Vol. 32, No. 7, Nov. 1968, pages 661-666.

H. Guetzkow, "Theoretical Approach to a Problem in International Organization," Multiple Loyalties, Princeton University Press, Princeton (1955).

Nov. 15 Theories of Justice Prof. Kenneth Arrow

John Rawls, "A Kantian Conception of Equality," Cambridge Review, February 1975, pages 94-00.

William K. Frankena, Ethics, Macmillan (1963), the chapter on utilitarianism.

Kenneth Arrow, "Justice Under Capitalism," paper presented at the International Symposium, Tokyo, Japan, October 30, 1975.

Nov. 17 Technology: War, Peace, and Justice Prof. Everett Mendelsohn

E. Mendelsohn, "A Human Reconstruction of Science," Boston University Journal, Spring 1973, pages 45-52.

David Dickson, Alternative Technology, Fontana-Collins (1974), Chapter 4: "Utopian Technology: Some Basic Principles," and Chapter 7: "Myths and Responsibilities."

Please refer to the readings for lectures of Profs. Doty and Schelling on the implications of nuclear technology.

Nov. 22 Human Rights Prof. Clyde Ferguson

Moses Moskowitz, "The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights," International Concern With Human Rights, Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y. (1974), pages 64-84.

Wm. S. Buckley, U.N. Journal: A Delegate's Odyssey, G. R. Putnam's Sons, New York (1974), pages 212-230.

Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., "The U.N. Human Rights Covenant: Problems of Ratification and Implementation," from the April 1968 proceedings of The American Society of International Law. Ferguson, transcript of speech: "The Diplomatic Origins of the U.N. Procedure re Individual Complaints to the U.N. Alleging Violations of Internationally Protected Human Rights."

PRESSING GLOBAL ISSUES

Nov. 24 Population Prof. Nathan Keyfitz

Nathan Keyfitz, "Population Theory & Doctrine: An Historical Survey," Chapter 2 of Readings in Population, ed. by William Petersen, Macmillan, New York (1972), pages 41-69.

Nathan Keyfitz, "World Resources and the Middle Class," Scientific American, Vol. 235, No. 1, July 1976.

Nov. 29 Economic Development Prof. Michael Roemer

Jagdish Bhagwati, Economics of Underdeveloped Countries, McGraw-Hill, New York (1966), pages 9-122 are required; rest of book is recommended. (The statistics are out-of-date, but the ideas are excellent.)

Dec. 1 U.S. Food Aid & The World Food Crisis Dr. Regina Zeigler

Lyle Schertz, "World Food: Prices and the Poor," Foreign Affairs, April 1974, p. 511.

Lester Brown, "The Next Crisis? Food," Foreign Policy, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1974.

Lance Taylor, "The Misconstrued Crisis: Lester Brown & World Food," World Development 3, 27, 1975.

Assigned questions for class discussion: What should the purposes of food aid be? What are possible liabilities of food aid? Considering events in the '70s, what policy guidelines and constraints should be incorporated into U.S. food aid legislation?

Dec. 6 Political Development in Latin America Prof. Jorge Dominquez

Howard J. Wiarda, "Social Change, Political Development, and the Latin American Tradition," in J. Wiarda (ed.) Politics and Social Change in Latin America: The Distinct Tradition, University of Mass. Press, Amherst (1974), pages 3-18.

Robert Scott, "Latin America and Modernization," in R. Scott (ed.) Latin America and Modernization Problems, University of Illinois Press, Urbana (1973), pages 1-21.

James Cockcraft, Andre Gunder Frank and Dale Johnson, Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy, Anchor Books, Garden City (1972), Introduction pages ix-xxix.

Dec. 8 Economic & Political Development & Limits to Growth Prof. Hayward Alker (MIT)

Ann Alder, "Limits to Growth Controversy," Center for International Studies, MIT.

Mesarovic and Edvard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York (1974), pages 1-31, 143-157 (also reading for Dec. 13).

Dec. 13 Development & Rising Expectations Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Karl W. Deutsch, "On Inequality and Limited Growth; Some World Political Effects," International Studies Quarterly, Nov. 1975.

C. A. Mallmann, "Quality of Life and Development Alternatives," 1975, Fundacion Bariloche, Argentina.

Dec. 15 The Future of World Peace Prof. Karl W. Deutsch

Karl W. Deutsch, "The Future of World Politics," The Political Quarterly, 37, Jan-March, 1966, pages 9-32.

Arnold Toynbee, War and Civilization, Oxford Press (1950), pages vii-xii, 12-25.

Jan. 5 Modernization & Transformation: The Import of Peoples Lives Prof. Badi Foster

Manfred Halpern, "A Redefinition of the Revolutionary Situation," Journal of International Affairs, 23, 1, 1969.

Badi Foster, "Problems of Human Encounter in Moroccan Bidonvilles."

Jan. 10 Global Issues & Local Community Prof. Don Oliver

Donald W. Oliver, Education and Community, McCutchan Publishing Co., (1976), pages 51-128.

Jan. 12 Education & Political Ideology Prof. Vicky Steinitz

Robert Lane, "The Alienated and the Allegiant," Political Ideology, The Free Press, New York, pages 161-176.

Vicky Steinitz, "People Need Help, But People Take Advantage: The Dilemma of Social Responsibility for Upwardly Mobile Youth," Youth & Society, Vol. 7, No. 4, June 1976.

Recommended: Vicky Steinitz, et. al., "Ideological Development in Working Class Youth," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 43, No. 3, August 1973.

Jan. 17 Nonviolent Action Dr. Gene Sharp

Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Part I Power and Struggle, Chapter 2 "Nonviolent Action: An Active Technique of Struggle," Porter Sargent, Boston (1973) and the "Table of Contents."

Gene Sharp, "An Examination of the Significance of Domestic Nonviolent Action for Development of a Substitute for International War," The Future of Collective Violence: Societal and International Perspectives, Joseph Ben-Dak (ed.), 1972.

PROBLEMS OF WORLD COMMUNITY
University Studies 212

Theodore Herman
Carolyn Stevenson
William Wylie (Peace Intern)
Tu, Th 1:30-3:00
Spring 1978

University Studies
Colgate University
Hamilton, NY

Materials to purchase:

Staff. A BOOK OF READINGS, Spring 1978, mimeo.
Meadows, D., *et al.*, THE LIMITS TO GROWTH. New York: New American Library, 1972.
George, S., HOW THE OTHER HALF DIES: THE REAL REASONS FOR WORLD HUNGER. Montclair, NJ: Allanheld-Osman, 1977.
Mische, G. and Mische, P., TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER. New York: Paulist Press, 1977.
Schumacher, E., SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

* * *

I. Limits to Growth

Feb. 3 Introduction to the Course
7 *Limits to Growth*, Introduction and ch. 1
9 *Limits to Growth*, ch. 2
14 *Limits to Growth*, ch. 3
16 *Limits to Growth*, chs. 4 and 5
21 After the *Limits to Growth*:
    Kaysen, *Readings*, pp. 1-9.
    Didsbury, *Readings*, pp. 10-12.
    Hopkins, *Readings*, pp. 13-17.
23 Solutions:
    Lovins, *Readings*, pp. 18-49.

II. Food: A Case Study

Feb. 28 Nutrition and Food Conservation:
    Lappe, *Readings*, pp. 50-77.
Mar. 2 Nutrition and Development:
    Susan George, *How the Other Half Dies*, chs. 1, 2 and 3
    Berg, *Readings*, pp. 78-93.

7 Technology and the Green Revolution:
George, chs. 4 and 5
L. Brown, *Readings*, pp. 94-107.
9 Multinational Corporations:
George, chs. 6 and 7
Barnet and Muller, *Readings*, pp. 108-130.
Berg, *Readings*, pp. 131-140.
Jelliffe, *Readings*, pp. 141-145.
14 Food: Aid or Weapon:
George, ch. 8
Singer and Bracken, *Readings*, pp. 146-150.
16 Intergovernmental Solutions: U.N. and I.B.R.D.:
George, chs. 9 and 10
Lerza, *Readings*, p. 151.
21 What Can I Do?
George, chs. 11 and 12

23 *Mid-semester Learning Exercise (Exam)*

III. Community

Apr. 4 The Need For Community:
Hardin, *Readings*, pp. 154-161.
Greer, *Readings*, pp. 162-163.
Wolfe, *Readings*, pp. 164-177.
Goodman, *Readings*, pp. 178-180.
6 Power and International Community
Aron, *Readings*, pp. 181-193.
S. Brown, *Readings*, pp. 194-207.
11 Forces of Community:
Connor, *Readings*, pp. 208-217.
Nyerere, *Readings*, pp. 218-220.
Opubar, *Readings*, pp. 221-232.
13 World Culture or Cultural Diversity:
Wagar, *Readings*, pp. 233-245.
Bookchin, *Readings*, pp. 246-263.
Hsu, *Readings*, pp. 264-277.
Mazrui, *Readings*, pp. 278-279.
18 Eastern vs. Western
Pye, *Readings*, pp. 280-286.
Geyer, *Readings*, pp. 287-294.
Heimsath, *Readings*, pp. 295-299.
Schramm, *et al.*, *Readings*, pp. 300-307.
Matta, *Readings*, pp. 308-320.
F.C.N.L. Newsletter, *Readings*, pp. 321-324.

IV. World Order Models

Apr. 20 Security or Insecurity:
Mische, *Toward a Human World Order*, chs. 1-8

Apr. 25 International Political Community:
Plano and Riggs, *Readings*, pp. 325-338.
Wright, *Readings*, pp. 339-342.
27 World Order:
Mische, chs. 9-13
May 2 Human Rights and Change:
Wagar, *Readings*, pp. 343-356.
Lakey, *Readings*, pp. 357-359.
U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, *Readings*, pp. 360-364.
Geyer, *Readings*, p. 365.
4 Alternative Economics:
Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful*
9 Alternative Economics (continued):
Schumacher

SEMINAR ON PROBLEMS OF WORLD ORDER
Government 90

Donald W. McNemar
Winter, 1976

Department of Government
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Structure of the Seminar

The focus of the seminar will be an analysis of a series of contemporary international problems and an attempt to develop world order models for the future. The first third of the term will be devoted to intensive readings and discussions relating to the major problems. The central part of the term will be devoted to individual research on one of the issue areas, and the latter part of the term will be used for presentation and evaluation of the members' papers to the seminar group.

Topics Covered

The general topics which will be covered in the seminar include:

1. Peace (disarmament and arms control, peacekeeping, mediation, peaceful settlement of disputes, deterrence, and international police forces).
2. Economic well-being (gap between the rich and poor, problems of trade and development, foreign aid, redistribution of wealth, and the new international economic order).
3. Social justice (end of colonialism, human rights, political prisoners, participation, and apartheid).
4. Ecological balance (depletion of resources, pollution, and quality of life).

Books for the Seminar

The following books are used extensively in the seminar and are available at the bookstore for purchase:

Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds (New York: Free Press, 1975).
Franklin Tugwell, Search for Alternatives (Cambridge, MA: Winthrop, 1973). (hereafter referred to as Tugwell)
Andrei D. Sakharov, My Country and the World (New York: Vintage, 1975).

E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
William Irwin Thompson, At the Edge of History (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
John Brunner, Stand on Zanzibar (New York: Ballantive Books, 1968).
World Order Models Project, First State of the Globe Report (New York: Institute for World Order, 1975).

Research Paper

Each seminar member will pursue independent research on one aspect of the future world order. Members are free to choose any topic which will fit into the general framework of world order analysis. The research will culminate in a 30-50 page paper on the topic, and the research and paper will be discussed in the seminar during the latter part of the term. Since this is an extensive commitment to research in a particular field, you should be giving thought to the area in which you wish to work.

Seminar Deadlines

January 21	One-page statement of the problem you wish to study.
February 11	Five-page outline or summary of the paper
February 18 - March 3	Seminar presentations of the papers
January 7	Introduction to World Order Problems McNemar, The World Order Framework (to be distributed) McNemar, The United Nations in the World (to be distributed)
January 12	World Order Methodology Falk, Chs. I, II, III. Platt, What We Must Do, in Tugwell. de Jouvenel, On the Nature of the Future, in Tugwell.
January 14	Alternative Approaches to the Future Falk, Chs. IV, V. Kahn, The Alternative World Futures Approach, in Tugwell. Galtung, On the Future of the International System, in Tugwell. Bell, Notes on the Post-Industrial Society, in Tugwell.
January 19	Peace and World Order Sakharov, My Country and the World

January 21	Economic Well-Being and World Order Falk, Ch. VI. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful
January 26	Social Justice and Ecological Balance Falk, Ch. VII. Ehrlich, Eco-Catastrophe, in Tugwell. Forrester, Counterintuitive Behavior of Social Systems, in Tugwell.
January 28-29	Individual conferences on research projects Read the First State of the Globe Report in preparation for these conferences.
February 2	Cultural Transformation for a New World Order Waskow, Looking Forward: 1999 Toffler, The Coming Ad-Hocracy, in Tugwell. Thompson, At the Edge of History (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
February 4	No meeting
February 9	The Unleashed Imagination Meets the Future Boulding, Futurology and the Imagining Capacity of the West, in Tugwell. Brunner, Stand on Zanzibar.
February 11	No meeting
February 16	No meeting
February 18	Presentation of papers
February 23	Presentation of papers
February 25	Presentation of papers
March 1	Presentation of papers
March 3	Presentation of papers

UNITED NATIONS LAW SEMINAR: PROBLEMS OF WORLD ORDER

International Studies 155

Louis B. Sohn
T, 4-6 PM
1977-78

International Studies
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, MA

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the seminar is to examine in depth such fundamental problems of world order as disarmament, peacekeeping, procedures for settlement of disputes and peaceful change, and the new international economic order. The framework of the seminar varies from year to year in order to explore new literature on world order issues.

In 1975-76, the seminar focused on the world order model contained in Falk's *A Study of Future Worlds*; in 1976-77 the Mendlovitz collection of essays *On the Creation of a Just World Order* was used as point of departure, other books in the *Preferred Worlds for the 1990's* series being brought in at appropriate points. Future seminars will examine other approaches to the problem.

In general, the seminar is intended to consider one book in detail, chapter by chapter, bringing in other relevant materials to broaden the perspective. In particular, World Order Models are contrasted with the "maximalist" views on needed changes in the international system, such as those contained in the *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution* by the Borgese-Hutchins group, and in *Freedom in a Federal World* by Millard; and with the "minimalist" views contained in the Clark and Sohn volume on *World Peace through World Law* and in *The United Nations: The Next Twenty-Five Years* by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.

The views of these publicists are then compared with the actual views of governments as reflected in the work of the United Nations Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization.

The second half of the course is devoted to a detailed consideration of two critical areas: disarmament and arms control, and the new international economic order and the related issues of development, environment and energy. Student papers are not restricted to these topics; they can deal with any issue relating to world order, world law or world institutions.

The required texts for the seminar in 1976-77 were as follows: Clark and Sohn, Introduction to World Peace Through World Law (4th ed., 1973); Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, The United Nations: The Next Twenty-Five Years (1970); Mendlovitz, ed., On the Creation of a Just World Order (1975); and mimeographed materials on disarmament and the international economic order. Other sources listed on the bibliography attached hereto were recommended readings; they were put on reserve both at the Law School and in undergraduate libraries.

BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Preferred Worlds for the 1990's

Saul H. Mendlovitz, On the Creation of a Just World Order (New York: Free Press, 1975), 302 pp.

Ali A. Mazrui, A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective (New York: Free Press, 1976), 508 pp.

Rajni Kothari, Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative (New York: Free Press, 1974), 173 pp.

Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds (New York: Free Press, 1975), 506 pp.

2. Alternative Plans

Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law: Two Alternative Plans (3rd ed.)(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 535 pp.

Louis B. Sohn, Introduction to World Peace Through World Law (4th ed.)(Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1973)(with essays by other authors), 118 pp.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, The United Nations: The Next Twenty-Five Years (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana, 1970), 263 pp.

Committee to Frame a World Constitution, Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 92 pp.
[The text may be found also in: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, A Constitution for the World (Santa Barbara, CA, 1965), pp. 25-54; Giuseppe Borgese, Foundations of the World Republic (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 305-20.]

Everett L. Millard, Freedom in a Federal World (4th ed.) (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana, 1966), 254 pp.

3. United Nations Committees on the Charter of the United Nations

United Nations, Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Charter of the United Nations (30 GAOR, Supp. 33; A/10033; 1975), 108 pp.

United Nations, *Analytical Study Submitted by the Secretary-General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 3499 (XXX)* (UN Doc. A/AC. 182/L. 2 and Corr. 1, February 1976), 91 pp.

United Nations, *Report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the UN and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization* (31 GAOR, Supp. 33; A/31/33); 1976), 30 pp.

4. Disarmament and Arms Control

United Nations, *The United Nations and Disarmament, 1945-1970* (UN Publ. E. 70. IX. 1), 515 pp.

United Nations, *The United Nations and Disarmament,* (UN Publ. E. 76 IX. 1), 267 pp.

World Law Fund, *Current Disarmament Proposals* (New York, 1964), 195 pp.

Marion H. McVitty, *A Comparison and Evaluation of Current Disarmament Proposals* (New York, 1964), 43 pp.; *Preface to Disarmament: An Appraisal of Recent Proposals* (Washington, DC, 1970), 72 pp.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, *Approaches To Arms Control and Disarmament* (New York, 1976), 71 pp.

United Nations Association of the United States of America, *Controlling the Conventional Arms Race* (New York, 1976), 87 pp.

5. The New Economic Order

C. Fred Bergsten and Lawrence B. Krause, eds., "World Politics and International Economics," *29 International Organization* 1-352 (Winter 1975). [See especially the Selected Bibliography on pp. 343-352.]

Commission on International Development, *Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York, 1969), 399 pp. [Pearson Report.]

Richard N. Cooper, ed., *A Reordered World: Emerging International Economic Problems* (Washington, DC: Potomic Associates, 1973), 260 pp.

Guy F. Erb and Valeriana Kallab, eds., *Beyond Dependency: The Developing World Speaks Out* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1975), 238 pp.

Mihajlo D. Mesarovic and Edward Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome* (New York: Dutton, 1974), 210 pp.

Alfred George Moss and Harry N. M. Winton, eds., *A New International Economic Order: Selected Documents, 1945-1975* (New York: UNITAR, 1976), 964 pp. in 2 vols.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Development Co-operation: Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee* (Paris, 1974), 325 pp.

Jan Tinbergen, *RIO: Reshaping the International Order: A Report to the Club of Rome* (New York: Dutton, 1976), 325 pp.

United Nations, *A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Co-operation: Report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations* (UN Doc. E/AC. 62/9; 1975), 112 pp.

United Nations, *New Directions and New Structures for Trade and Development: Report by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD to the [UNCTAD IV] Conference* (UN Doc. TD/183; 1976), 88 pp.

INTRODUCTION TO GLOBAL POLITICS
Political Science 236

Marvin S. Soroos
Spring and Summer, 1977

Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OUTLINE

Introduction

The course Political Science 236, Introduction to Global Politics, is the first of a three course sequence on global politics taught by Mr. Soroos. Political Science 236 has been developed to provide both political science majors and students from other departments and schools a present and future-oriented introductory overview of the rapid change that is characteristic of the global political system and to the perennial and emerging problems facing mankind. Consideration will be given to the avoidance of international war, the realization of global peace, the reduction of inequality and the prevalence of substandard living conditions, the management of the planetary ecological system, and the realization of higher levels of human development. The political dimension of the planetary ecological problems of population, food, and natural resources, and the use of the seas are treated in much more depth in the second course in the sequence, Political Science 336, Global Environmental Politics. Issues of wars, violence, conflict, arms races, and peace are studied more intensively in Political Science 436, The Politics of War, Peace and World Order, the final course in the sequence, which serves as a senior seminar for political science majors.

Advances in technologies of communication and transportation have brought the peoples of the world into ever-growing contact. Rapidly increasing trade and cross-national investments of multinational corporations have contributed to a more and more integrated world economic system. Ecological problems related to population growth, consumption of resources, pollution, and use of the seas require a coordinated global approach. As the title of Lester Brown's book World Without Borders suggests, national boundaries are in many ways artificial divisions of the world's population.

In Political Science 236, all political happenings are viewed in the context of a gigantic and very complex planetary system. Use of the concept global implies that consideration will be given not only to the relations between national (international politics) but also to the roles of multinational corporations and international organizations in world political arenas. Equally important, the concept global draws attention to how politics in domestic political systems are closely intertwined with those taking place in international arenas.

Course Objectives

The course has been designed both to present theories and information pertaining to the global system and to further intellectual development of the individual students. The substantive objectives are the following:

(1) to sketch some of the characteristics of and patterns of change in the global political system in order to develop a frame of reference for discussions of planetary problems and alternative futures;

(2) to compare competing conceptions of desirable directions for mankind;

(3) to call attention to several interrelated planetary problems which will probably become more acute during the last quarter of the twentieth century; and

(4) to introduce some possible alternative strategies that may be implemented to cope with the planetary problems that are identified.

The following are the objectives pertaining to intellectual development:

(1) to improve analytic skills so as to be better equipped to evaluate the "conventional wisdom" of the day and to think creatively about problems and their possible solutions;

(2) to develop skill at futures-oriented thought during a period of history in which the accelerating pace of change is increasing the need for foresight and planning; and

(3) to increase skill in both the oral and written expression of ideas.

Reading Materials

The following books are suggested for purchase. Additional books and articles have been placed on reserve in the library.

1. Lester Brown, World Without Borders, N.Y., Random House, 1973.
2. Richard Falk, Future Worlds, N.Y., Foreign Policy Association, 1976.
3. James Howe, Interdependence and the World Economy, N.Y., Foreign Policy Association, 1974.
4. Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners, N.Y., Harper and Row, 1969.
5. J. and R. Moore, War and War Prevention, N.Y., Hayden, 1974.
6. Philip Quigg, Environment: The Global Issues, N.Y., Foreign Policy Association, 1973.
7. Walter Slocombe, Controlling Strategic Nuclear Weapons, N.Y., Foreign Policy Association, 1975.

It may also be more convenient to purchase the following book:

Ruth Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures -- 1976, N.Y., Institute for World Order, 1976.

Class Sessions

Most of the class sessions will be quasi-lectures in which the instructor will attempt to communicate a series of ideas on a specified topic. The prefix "quasi" is added to suggest that questions, insights, and competing ideas and examples are welcomed from the students.

Papers

Two relatively short papers will be required of each student. The due dates are indicated on the tentative course schedule.

Examinations

Two midterm quizzes and a final examination will be administered to the class.

Course Outline

Several short additional readings may be assigned during the semester. If you are interested in doing further reading, it is suggested you browse through the Bulletin of Peace Proposals in the library or ask the instructor for other ideas. You are also strongly encouraged to keep up with world developments by newspapers or news-weeklies. The best source of global news is probably The New York Times.

I. Introduction

The mechanics of the course will be discussed and a questionnaire administered.

II. A Dynamic Global Perspective

The global perspective will be described and compared to perspectives taken in other courses, such as American domestic politics, international relations, and comparative politics. The principal types of actors in the global political system will be enumerated and described, with particular attention being given to nation-states, international organizations, and multinational corporations and financial institutions. Finally, some of the technologies that have had or will have a significant influence on global politics will be reviewed. During this section of the course, students should work on the first paper, "The State of the World: A Statistical Analysis."

A. Why Adopt a Global Perspective?

Reading: Brown, Chapter 1

Falk, pp. 1-8

B. Principal Actors in the Global System

1. Territorial Actors (Nation-States)

   Readings: Brown, Chapters 9 and 10

2. Nonterritorial Actors (International Organizations, Multinational Corporations, International Financial Institutions)

   Readings: Brown, Chapter 11

   Barnet and Muller, Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1974.

C. Technological Transformations: Toward a Global Village?

1. Communication

Readings: Brown, Chapter 13

2. Transportation

Readings: Brown, Chapter 14

III. Alternative Directions for Mankind

Should mankind have goals? If so, what values should underlie these goals? These philosophical questions are central to the remainder of the course. The concepts peace and violence will be introduced and some formulations of goals for mankind will be examined. The discussion of values will serve as a basis for identifying planetary problems and evaluating solutions to them.

Readings: Soroos, Peace Through Knowledge, Chapter 3, (Chapter 4 is optional).

"The Humanist Manifesto"

"Test of Environmental Principles"

Brown, Chapter 16

IV. Planetary Problem No. 1: Poverty and Inequality

Despite efforts directed toward industrialization and modernization, as many as two billion human beings live lives at or below subsistence standards. Moreover, the distribution of the world's wealth and resources is becoming more unequal at a time when awareness of inequalities is increasing due to modern communication systems. Consideration will be given to the extent of human suffering, the dimensions of inequality, and proposals to reduce these problems. The role of multinational corporations in the distribution of global wealth will be given particular attention.

A. The Dimension and Causes of Poverty and Inequality

Readings: Brown, Chapters 3, 4, and 5

Howe, pp. 3-35

Barnet and Muller, Global Reach, pp. 123-147.

B. Strategies for Reducing Poverty and Inequality

Readings: Howe, pp. 37-60

Brown, Chapters 7 and 12

Barnet and Muller, Global Reach, pp. 148-184

Bulletin of Peace Proposals folder on "Development"

V. Planetary Problem No. 2: Global Ecological Imbalances

Recently, considerable attention has been given to the related problems of population, food supply, resource depletion, and damage to the environment. There is concern that the survivability of mankind may be in question. An attempt will be made to assess the nature and severity of these problems and to explore the alternative strategies for coping with them that are available to man.

A. An Overview of Ecological Problems

Readings: Brown, Chapter 2

Quigg, pp. 3-31

B. Dimensions and Causes of Planetary Ecological Problems

1. Population Growth

   Readings: Brown, Chapter 8

2. Food Supplies

   Readings: Brown, Chapter 6

3. Industrialization and Natural Resource Depletion

   Readings: Edward Fried, "International Trade in Raw Materials, Myth and Realities," Science, Feb. 20, 1976, pp. 641-646.

4. Seabed Issues

C. Progress and Proposals for Coping with Planetary Ecological Problems

Readings: Quigg, pp. 32-61

VI. Planetary Problem No. 3: Arms Races and Violent Conflict

Arms races and violent conflict are related phenomena that are problems not only because of direct human suffering but also because of the diversion of resources from programs designed to ameliorate other problems, such as hunger, poverty, illiteracy, and ecological damage. Consideration will be given to the cost of arms races and the frequency and causes of as well as alternative strategies for resolving conflict.

A. The Problem of Wars

Readings: Moore, pp. 1-63

B. The Problem of Arms Races

1. Dimensions of Contemporary Arms Races

Readings: Sivard, pp. 5-19

Bulletin of Peace Proposals folder entitled "The Arms Race"

2. Strategic Arms and Policy

Readings: Slocombe, pp. 3-25

Rapoport, "A Day in the Lives of Mr. A. and Mr. Z."

3. Arms Control and Disarmament

Readings: Slocombe, pp. 26-63

C. Alternative Strategies for Resolving Conflict

1. Coercion and Force

Readings: Fisher, pp. 1-59

2. Bargaining and Negotiation

Readings: Fisher, pp. 60-150, 178-201

3. International Law

Readings: Fisher, pp. 151-177

4. Miscellaneous Strategies of War Prevention

Readings: Moore, pp. 64-85

VII. An Alternative Global Political Order for the Future?

During the last week of the course, an attempt will be made to investigate the relationships between the three major types of planetary problems considered during the semester and what type of coordinated effort would be needed to overcome these problems. Does the existing global political order have the capacity for coping with the problems of man's future? Are there alternative world orders that would be more desirable and feasible? If so, how can these alternative orders be implemented?

A. Is a Modified Global Political Order Necessary?

Readings: Falk, pp. 3-8

B. Proposals for an Alternative World Order

Readings: Falk, pp. 9-45

Moore, pp. 86-116

Brown, Chapter 17

C. Steps Toward the Achievement of an Alternative World Order

Readings: Falk, pp. 46-54

D. Alternative American Responses to Global Problems

Readings: Falk, pp. 55-60

Tentative Course Schedule

Week 1 (Jan. 12-14)

W - Course Introduction: Questionnaire (Read Course Description and Outline, Begin work on Paper #1)

F - A Global Systems Perspective on World Politics (II,A)

Week 2 (Jan. 17-21)

M - The Nation-state as a Global Actor (II, B, 1)

W - Changing Patterns of Cooperation and Conflict Among Nation-states Paper #1 is Due

F - International Organizations: Numbers and Types

Week 3 (Jan. 24-28)

M - International Organizations: Role in Global Politics

W - Multinational Corporations: Growth Trends (II, B, 2)

F - Multinational Corporations: Role in Global Politics

Week 4 (Jan. 31-Feb. 4)

M - Technological Transformations (II, C)

W - Alternative Directions for Mankind (III)

F - Examination #1

Week 5 (Feb. 7-11)

M - Discussion of Examination
Dimensions of Poverty and Inequality (IV, A)

W - Dimensions of Poverty and Inequality (continued)

F - Causes of Global Poverty and Inequality

Week 6 (Feb. 14-18)

M - Alternative Strategies of Development (IV, B)

W - The Emerging Politics of Inequality

F - Discussion of Paper Topics

Week 7 (Feb. 21-25)

M - Introduction to Ecological Problems (V, A)

W - The World Population Explosion (V, B, 1)

F - World Food Problems (V, B, 2)

Week 8 (Feb. 28-March 4)

M - Resource Politics (V, B, 3)

W - Seabed Issues

F - International Response to Ecological Problems (V, C)

Week 9 (March 14-18)

M - Catch Up

W - Examination #2

F - No Class

Week 10 (March 21-25)

M - The Continuing Problem of Wars (VI, A)

W - Discussion of Examination #2
The Causes of Wars

F - Causes of Wars (continued)

Week 11 (March 28-April 1)

M - The General Problem of Arms Races (VI, B, 1)

W - The Strategic Arms Race: Weapons (VI, B, 2)

F - The Strategic Arms Race: Security Policy

Week 12 (April 4-6)

M - Arms Control and Disarmament (VI, B, 3)

W - Resolving International Conflict: Coercion and Force (VI, C, 1)

F - Resolving International Conflict: Bargaining and Negotiation (VI, C, 2)

Week 13 (April 13-15)

M - Easter Vacation

W - Resolving Conflict: International Law and Institutions (VI, C, 3)

F - No Class

Week 14 (April 18-22)

M - Alternative Future Worlds (VII, A)

W - Alternative Future Worlds (Continued) (VII, B, C)

F - American Response to World Problems: The Carter Approach (VII, D)
Paper #2 is Due

Week 15 (April 25-29)

M - Selected Student Reports

W - To Be Announced

F - Course Wrap-up, discussion of final examination, and course evaluation

Week 16 FINAL EXAMINATION

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN SURVIVAL: AN INTRODUCTION TO WORLD ORDER STUDIES*

Burns H. Weston
1975-76, 1976-77

Center for World Order Studies
and College of Law
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

Explanatory Preface

In recent years, more and more people have come to realize that the existence and quality of life on Earth are increasingly threatened by forces over which humankind has so far displayed little or no control: by wars and preparations for war whose actual and potential consequences almost defy comprehension; by flagrant and hidden assaults upon fundamental human rights at home and abroad; by exploding populations, spreading hunger, and widening poverty, especially in the underdeveloped Third World; by environmental pollution and the selfish exploitation of precariously finite resources; and so forth and so on. Some say there is nothing we can do to avert the ultimate catastrophe these forces imply. Others say that civilization will survive no matter what. But whatever one's long-term viewpoint, there is no question that the forces which increasingly threaten human survival and human dignity must be examined, discussed, and acted upon with some urgency.

Responding to this urgent need, and proceeding in the belief that solutions toward a more peaceful and just world are within human capability, there has emerged in recent years a new field of international education and research generally known as "world order studies" (sometimes called "peace studies," "transnational studies," and "global studies"). The essential purpose of this new field is to encourage the fullest possible development of each individual's potential in relation to the problem of ensuring human survival and human dignity on a worldwide scale as humankind races forward into the Twenty-first Century.

The University of Iowa, while not alone among educational institutions around the world to encourage teaching and research in this connection, is among the very first to develop and reorganize its curriculum in such a way as to give world order education truly significant attention. Beginning in September 1972 with the establishment of the Center for World Order Studies as a project of The Stanley Foundation (Muscatine, Iowa) in co-operation with The University of Iowa, and spurred on by financial assistance from a number of concerned organizations (most notably the Institute for World Order in New York City), the University brought together and is continuing to bring together a cluster of new and previously offered courses and seminars under the umbrella title "World Order Studies Program." This course, now offered for the second time and therefore still admittedly experimental, is intended to serve as the basic introduction to this Program. Students interested in learning more about the Program should consult the Schedule of Courses and should contact the Center for World Order Studies through which the Program (and this course) is sponsored.

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*The course manual developed for this course has been revised and is available under the same title from the Transnational Academic Program of the Institute for World Order.

Course Materials and Syllabus-Outline

1. Materials

In addition to the manual specially prepared for this course (available at the Iowa Memorial Union Paperback Store), students are expected to purchase the following three paperpack books (also available at the Iowa Memorial Union Paperback Store):

L. BROWN, WORLD WITHOUT BORDERS (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

R. FALK, THIS ENDANGERED PLANET (New York: Vintage Books, 1972).

R. HEILBRONER, AN INQUIRY INTO THE HUMAN PROSPECT (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1974).

Each of these texts, which are hereinafter cited as "BROWN," "FALK," and "HEILBRONER," will be extensively used for course assignments. Other readings, as well as these texts, may be found "on reserve" in the Main Library. Films will be used to supplement the assigned readings and class discussions.

2. Syllabus-Outline

This syllabus-outline is intended to assist you in planning your work-schedule for this course. While no specific dates are given (out of deference to the need for flexibility), the course is divided into weekly study-unit segments which reflect the amount of time believed needed to handle adequately the course topics covered. While the amount of assigned reading varies from week to week, in no single week are more than 150-200 pages required.

The course is designed to be discussion-oriented rather than lecture-oriented, although some class sessions will involve film presentations and lectures. Thus, for each of us to benefit from the course as much as possible, it is essential that you be fully prepared before coming to class. The class discussions will be conducted on the assumption that all the background reading and writing assignments have been fulfilled. On the other hand, you still are stongly advised to attend class even if you do not complete each of the assignments when due. At the very least, you can benefit greatly from the class discussions:

NOTE: There will be no final examination for this course. Also, assuming consistent fulfillment of the course assignments, no surprise quizzes will be given. However, both to ensure your understanding of the issues covered and to provide a basis upon which to evaluate your learning-experience, four to five writing exercises (totalling -- at a maximum seven (7) single-spaced and thirty-six (36) double-spaced typewritten pages) are assigned. Please plan your schedules so that you do not leave these writing assignments to the last minute.

* * *

WEEK 1

I. Introduction[1]

A. What is "world order studies" and how does it differ from international education as traditionally taught?

1. Reading Assignment.
   Weston, Education for Human Survival, ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, 1975, vol. 261, pp. 115-125.
   Boyer, World Order Education: What Is It?, THE PHI DELTA KAPPAN, April 1975, vol. 56, no. 8, pp. 524-27.
   Mendlovitz, Introduction to S. MENDLOVITZ, ed., ON THE CREATION OF A JUST WORLD ORDER. (New York: Free Press, 1975), at pp. vii-xvii.
2. Recommended Reading. For a more detailed treatment of the above question, see N. WALBEK & T. WEISS, A WORLD ORDER FRAMEWORK FOR TEACHING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (Institute for World Order, 1974). This monograph is available in the Reserve Room of the Main Library.
3. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.

B. Is the survival of humankind threatened and, if so, how? What do people mean by "human survival"?

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[1] There is no writing assignment for this Study-Unit. However, you should begin to work on the writing assignment due at the close of Study-Unit II.

1. Reading Assignment. Read FALK, pp. 1-19. Also read the following five selections:
   Statement by Secretary-General U Thant, Conference of the Institute on Man and Society on "The Second United Nations Development Decade: A Challenge to Rich and Poor Countries" (Opening Session, May 9, 1969), U.N. MONTHLY CHRONICLE, July 1969, vol. 6, no. 7, pp. i-ii.
   Boulding, The Prevention of World War III, THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW, Winter 1962, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 3-5.
   A. CAMUS, NEITHER VICTIMS NOR EXECUTIONERS (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1972), pp. 19-21.
   BROWN, pp. 50-55.
   D. PIRAGES & P. EHRLICH, ARK II -- SOCIAL RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENTAL IMPERATIVES (San Francisco: Freeman, 1974), pp. 1-2.
2. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.

C. Is global interdependence real and, if so, how? What do people mean by "global interdependence"?
1. Reading Assignment.
   E. HASS, TANGLE OF HOPES -- AMERICAN COMMITMENTS AND WORLD ORDER (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 3-12.
   R. HOPKINS & R. MANSBACH, STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 98-103.
   L. BROWN, THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, Paper No. 10, Oct. 1972), pp. 5-7.
   D. GOULET, WORLD INTERDEPENDENCE: VERBAL SMOKESCREEN OR NEW ETHIC? (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, Paper No. 21, March 1976), pp. 7-10.
   R. FALK, THE KNOT WITH FOUR FOLDS -- UNRAVELING THE FUTURE OF WORLD ORDER (New York: The Fund for Peace).
2. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.

WEEK 2

II. Global Interdependence and Human Survival: A Case Study -- World Hunger[2]

Approximately ten thousand people die of starvation or hunger-related diseases every day, 365 days every year. At the same time, about 1.4 million new mouths are born to feed every week, 52 weeks every year -- and the number is growing.

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[2] Time permitting, a thought-provoking film will be shown. Also, please note that this Study-Unit contains a writing assignment.

Thus, for thousands of people, the question of survival is not some remote contingency, but one of severe presence from day to day, hour to hour.

We in Iowa, located in the "breadbasket of the world," should have no difficulty in relating to this worldwide hunger crisis. While our bellies are full, such that many of us may have trouble understanding the meaning of death and disease for lack of sufficient food, many of us are familiar with the problems involved in feeding people. This Study-Unit, concerning the problem of world hunger from a global perspective, therefore seems an appropriate beginning for the study of "global interdependence and human survival."

It is, moreover, a timely one. Recently world attention became for the first time significantly focused -- some would say, too momentarily focused -- on the problem of feeding the world's populations. Beginning on November 5, 1974, representatives from 130 nations met for 12 days in Rome, Italy to consider this problem at the United Nations World Food Conference. The Conference provoked much discussion, created many dire headlines, and resulted in the establishment of the United Nations World Food Council, a group of 20-25 nation representatives selected on a geographic basis with responsibility for the coordination of international policy on food production and reserves, nutrition programs, and investment drives to pump capital into needy nations. For the most part, however, the Food Council was charged to set long-term policies and priorities. That is to say, the Conference "failed to heed pleas for 10-million tons of food grain over the next eight to ten months to stave off starvation in Asian and African countries."[3] It did little if anything to meet the world hunger crisis in the immediate short-run.

Hence, the problem of feeding a hungry planet, as both an immediate and long-term task, calls not just for simple human compassion but also for unparalleled creative strategy. The materials in your Course Manual, drawn from A Global Development Studies Case Study, Revised Edition of the Management Institute for National Development (New York City), are directed to these ends. Prepared under the title "World Food Supply" by J. Carlisle Spivey (B.A., Goucher College; M.A., University of Pennsylvania), a "Program Associate" of the M.I.N.D., they present a reasonably thorough and quick understanding of the global hunger crisis. Except for some minor editing, these materials are presented intact, beginning with a modestly revised Table of Contents.

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[3] Des Moines Register, Nov. 18, 1974, p. 2, col. 1.

A. Assignments

1. Reading Assignment. Read the materials on the "World Food Supply" by J. Carlisle Spivey, including the study questions on pp. 112-113 of your Course Manual. Also read Chapter Six, "The Hungry Majority," in BROWN.
2. Writing Assignment. After completing the above "Reading Assignment," prepare a concise (2-3 page) explanatory listing of all the ways you see the world hunger problem to be one of global interdependence, i.e., all the ways you perceive it to relate to, or depend on, other major problems facing the world community. If you conclude that the world hunger problem is not one of global interdependence, indicate as much and why. Your paper, due at the last class session of this Study-Unit, should be typewritten and single spaced. Use 8-1/2" x 11" white paper only, and make a copy for yourself. Staple your pages in the upper left corner, and type in your name and I.D. number in the upper right corner of the first page. Do not prepare a title-page.

B. Recommended Readings. For more extensive treatment of the world hunger problem, see the selected bibliography of books and articles included in your Course Manual at the end of this Study-Unit.

WEEK 3

III. The Existing International (or World Order) System[4]

A primary purpose of this course is to learn how the world community has managed to cope, if at all, with the major problems which now appear to be threatening the existence and quality of life on Earth. The problem of world hunger, briefly considered in the preceding Study-Unit, is illustrative of such problems. However, to comprehend fully this and like problems, and thereby to satisfy the above purpose, it is necessary to achieve at least preliminary understanding of the structure of the existing international (or world order) system. It is necessary if only because, assuming we find a need for viable alternatives to present-day global "crisis management" structures, we cannot know where we want to go (or how to get there) unless we know where we have been and what we have got.

On the other hand, it should not be assumed that this Study-Unit can serve as a substitute for the detailed structural lessons that are to be learned from other courses offered at this university. Students interested in such detail are therefore strongly advised to register for these other courses, in particular the courses entitled "Introduction to World Politics" (030:013) and "Introduction to International Law" (130:110; 91:285), each part of this university's World Order Studies Program. This Study-Unit is intended to present only a rudimentary bird's-eye view, and the following assignments are directed to that end.

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[4] This Study-Unit contains a writing assignment.

A. Assignments

1. Reading Assignment. Read the following brief excerpt from R. FALK, FUTURE WORLDS (F.P.A. Headline Series No. 229, Feb. 1976), pp. 17-21. Also read at least one selection from each of the four clusters of readings listed below, preferably in the order presented. All have been placed "on reserve" in the Main Library.

Cluster 1

K. DEUTSCH, THE ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), chs. 1 & 2 ("Ten Fundamental Questions" and "Tools for Thinking: A Few Basic Concepts").

D. PUCHALA, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS TODAY (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1971), ch. 1 (International Politics and Its Setting").

E. LUARD, CONFLICT AND PEACE IN THE MODERN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), ch. 1 ("Systems").

E. LASZLO, A STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE -- THE SYSTEMS APPROACH TO WORLD ORDER (New York: Braziller, 1974), ch. 1 ("The Systems Approach to World Order -- Anatomy of the Next Conceptual Synthesis").

Cluster 2

K. HOLSTI, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967), ch. 3 ("The Western State System").

S. HOFFMANN, GULLIVER'S TROUBLES, OR THE SETTING OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), chs. 2 & 3 (I) ("The International System Today" & "Gulliver in the Chain Gang").

Herz, The Rise and Demise of the Territorial State, in J. ROSENAU, ed., INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND FOREGIN POLICY (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 80-86.

Cluster 3

I. DUCHACEK, ed., DISCORD AND HARMONY -- READINGS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), ch. 1 ["The Map-Shape of Nations" (Boulding), "The Territorial Imperative" (Ardrey), "The Territorial State Revisited" (Herz), and "Trends Away from the Nation-State" (Singer)].

R. HOPKINS & R. MANSBACH, STRUCTURE AND PROCESS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), chs. 10 & 11 ("Interstate Governmental Actors --

Regional and Global Organizations" and "Nongovernmental Actors: The International Corporation").

D. BLAISDELL, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (New York: Ronald Press, 1966), chs. 1 & 19 ("The International Organization Movement" and "The Individual in the World of Organized States").

R. KEOHANE & J. NYE, TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970-71), Preface ("Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction").

Cluster 4

D. PUCHALA, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS TODAY (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1971), chs. 2 & 3 ("States and Statesmen in International Politics" and "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy").

H. KISSINGER, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (New York: Norton, 1969), pt. 1 ("Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy").

2. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.
3. Writing Assignment. After completing the above "Reading Assignment," consider the condensed outline and elaborative extracts of the existing international (or world order) system set forth in your Course Manual and drawn from Yale law professors Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, and W. Michael Reisman, "The World Constitutive Process of Authoritative Decision," in R. FALK & C. BLACK, eds., THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ORDER (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 73-154 ("on reserve" in the Main Library). You are encouraged to read this article in full if you have the time. Its progenitor, which you are also encouraged to read (time permitting), is the seminal book by Professor Lasswell, now widely-considered a classic, POLITICS: WHO GETS WHAT, WHEN, HOW (Cleveland & New York: World, 1958).

Your assignment is to prepare a concise (3-4 page) elaboration on the condensed outline, identifying or "fleshing out" by name or category only the varieties of "real world" actors and events you see falling under each of its headings. Your paper, due at the last class session of this Study-Unit, should be prepared as before.

B. Recommended Readings. In addition to the above assigned readings, one could compile an extremely long bibliography of books and articles which would add considerably to your understanding of the existing international (or world order) system. In the interest of economy, however, only those additional readings which are considered classics or are relatively recent additions to the literature are listed here.

E. ATWATER, K. FORSTER, J. PRYBYLA, WORLD TENSIONS -- CONFLICT AND ACCOMODATION (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 2d ed. 1972).
I. CLAUDE, SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES -- THE PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (New York: Random House, 4th ed. 1971).
E. HAAS & A. WHITING, DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956).
J. HERZ, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN THE ATOMIC AGE (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).
G. MODELSKI, PRINCIPLES OF WORLD POLITICS (New York: Free Press, 1972).
H. MORGENTHAU, POLITICS AMONG NATIONS (New York: Knopf, 4th ed. 1967).
H. SPIRO, WORLD POLITICS: THE GLOBAL SYSTEM (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1966).
R. STERLING, MACROPOLITICS -- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY (New York: Knopf, 1974).

WEEKS 4-9

IV. Contemporary Challenges to the Global System[5]

In its Fiftieth Anniversary issue on "An Inventory of Hope" (December 14, 1974), Saturday Review/World carried the following comment by "inventor-discoverer" R. Buckminster Fuller (at p. 62):

> During the next 25 years -- the curtain-raising of the twenty-first century -- the number of biased blunders, shortsighted misjudgments, and opinionated self-deceits will total, at minimum, 600 million errors.
>
> This is not to say that man is stupidly ignorant; it is to say that in the design of universal evolution, man was given an enormous safety factor within which to learn, by trial and error, to dare to use his intellectual conceptioning to advance into the future.
>
> Today, that trial-and-error sustaining nutriment is beginning to be exhausted. Eventually, either humanity will cease to live aboard this sun-orbiting spaceship, Earth, or it will realize that it can indeed do anything it needs to -- and cannot afford to do anything else.

This Study-Unit is designed to call critical attention to the major forces to which Mr. Fuller is referring when he says that our "trial-and-error sustaining nutriment is beginning to be exhausted," that is, to those major forces which are said to be threatening the existence and quality of life on Earth. Whether Mr. Fuller, who some might call a "prophet of doom," is correct in his assessment is for you to decide.

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[5] Several thought-provoking films will be shown during the course of this Study-Unit. Also, please note that this Study-Unit contains at least one, possibly two writing assignments.

The readings assigned below are organized according to the major global problem-areas which comprise the topical focus of this university's World Order Studies Program, *i.e.*, *war prevention*, *human rights*, *economic welfare*, and *ecological stability*. It should be understood, however, that these readings represent only a rudimentary introduction to these problem areas. Students interested in pursuing these matters in greater detail are urged to consider some of the other courses presently offered through the World Order Studies Program -- in particular, the following: Politics of War and Peace (030:168); Human Rights (030:165); Introduction to Global Poverty (034:079); and Introduction to the Global Environment (044:124).

A. *Assignments*

1. *Reading Assignment*. Read the selections listed below *in the order presented*. Be especially quick to complete the readings cited under the beginning "General Introductory" segment. Thereafter, plan your schedules bearing in mind that each of the subsequent segments will be accorded approximately 1-1/2 weeks of study time. The entire Study-Unit will take about 6 weeks time, and will include, at the instructor's discretion, one or two writing assignments as explained in Section A (4) below. The recommended readings listed in Section B, below, are intended to assist you with these writing assignments.
2. *Required Readings*. Except for certain extracts in your Course Manual, the following readings are "on reserve" in the Main Library.
   a. *General Introductory*
      FALK, pp. 21-104.
      BROWN, pp. 3-12.
      HEILBRONER, pp. 13-58.
   b. *War Prevention*
      Day, *We Reset the Clock*, THE BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, Sept. 1974, pp. 4-5.
      Kahn, *The Arms Race and Some of Its Hazards*, in R. FALK & S. MENDLOVITZ, eds., THE STRATEGY OF WORLD ORDER (New York: World Law Fund, 1966), pp. 17-50.
      FALK, pp. 105-132.
      K. BOULDING, THE MEANING OF THE 20TH CENTURY: THE GREAT TRANSITION (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 75-103.
      K. WALTZ, MAN, THE STATE AND WAR (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), pp. 1-41.

R. BARNET, ROOTS OF WAR (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 23-47, 146-175.
C. GUEVARA, GUERILLA WARFARE (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1961), pp. 15-20.

c. Human Rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in [1948-49] Y.B. UNITED NATIONS (U.N. Sales No. 1949.I.13), pp. 535-537.
J. CAREY, U.N. PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1970), pp. 1-3.
Lord Caradon, Race, Poverty and Population, in F. VALLAT, ed., AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HUMAN RIGHTS (London: Europa Publications, c. 1970), pp. 52-63.
F. FANON, THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH (New York: Grove Press, 1963), pp. 27-84.
Nell, Lifeboat Earth, PHILOSOPHY AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, No. 4, Spring 1975, pp. 273-292.
Hardin, The Tragedy of the Commons, SCIENCE, Dec. 13, 1968, vol. 162, pp. 1243-1248.
Korey, The Key to Human Rights -- Implementation, INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION, Nov. 1968, pp. 5-70.

d. Economic Welfare

R. HEILBRONER, THE GREAT ASCENT -- THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN OUR TIME (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 23-27.
BROWN, pp. 41-87, 183-229.
FALK, pp. 132-180.
Mishan, Ills, Bads, and Disamenities: The Wages of Growth, in M. OLSON & H. LANDSBERG, THE NO-GROWTH SOCIETY (New York: Norton, 1973), pp. 63-86.

e. Ecological Stability

B. COMMONER, THE CLOSING CIRCLE (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), pp. 1-6.
FALK, pp. 180-211.
BROWN, pp. 15-57, 132-154.
D. PIRAGES & P. EHRLICH, ARK II (San Francisco: Freeman, 1974), pp. 2-64, 216-254.
G. HARDIN, EXPLORING NEW ETHICS FOR SURVIVAL -- THE VOYAGE OF THE SPACESHIP BEAGLE (New York: Viking, 1972), pp. 3-15.

3. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.
4. Writing Assignment. Relying upon the above required and subsequent recommended readings, as well as such other materials as you may find for yourself, prepare one or two concise (10-15 page) papers (at your instructor's discretion) which identify, analyze, and recommend solutions for a world order problem which you see threatening the quality of life on Earth. A first paper should deal with a war prevention or human rights problem,

and should be organized as follows: (1) identification of the world order problem; (2) analysis and recommendation from your own perspective as a man or woman; and (3) analysis and recommendation from the perspective of the sex opposite your own. A second paper should deal with an economic welfare or ecological stability problem, and should be organized as follows: (1) identification of the world order problem; (2) analysis and recommendation from the perspective of a Western industrialized nation; and (3) analysis and recommendation from the perspective of an underdeveloped country or culture.

The first paper will be due within approximately three weeks of the commencement of this Study-Unit, and the second paper will be due as of the completion of this Study-Unit. Both papers should be prepared as before, except that they should be double-spaced.

B. Recommended Readings. In addition to the full texts from which the above required readings have been drawn, consult your Course Manual for recommended readings. The readings selected can be a valuable resource for the writing assignments stated in Section A (4) above, and are listed essentially according to the format used above. Of course, considering the interdependence of the problems addressed and, hence, the possibility of significant overlap, there is some hazard in listing these readings in this way. You are therefore encouraged not to consider the organizing categories as definitive and mutually exclusive.

WEEKS 10-13

V. Trends and Responses: Probable and Preferred World Futures?[6]

The challenges to the global human environment considered in the preceding Study-Unit may be greeted by some people with unconcern or ambivalence or both. It is of course up to each of us to decide whether such responses are appropriate or not. In so doing, however, if only to assure ourselves of a reasonably informed judgment on this question, it behooves us to investigate and evaluate the responses of at least some of those people who have given considerable attention to the problems involved.

This Study-Unit is intended as a brief introduction to these more-or-less informed responses (treated more fully in the World Order Studies Program courses entitled "Probable World Futures" [042:156] and "Preferred World Futures" [042:157]. As shall be seen, they are varied in nature and range from proposals for the modest adjustment of existing norms and institutions to the complete overhaul of the present world order system. It may not add significantly to our learning to observe that they embrace both "doomsayer" and "anti-doomsayer" conclusions about current world trends, but surely our understanding of "Mankind's predicament" can only be enhanced if we take seriously the futuristic questions they entertain -- *e.g.*, such questions as are raised by Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel in MANKIND AT THE TURNING POINT -- THE SECOND REPORT TO THE CLUB OF ROME (New York: Dutton, 1974), pp. 15-16:

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[6] There is no writing assignment for this Study-Unit. However, you should begin at this point to work on the writing assignment due at the close of Study-Unit VI.

1. Are the crises -- energy, food, raw materials, etc. -- persistent, or are they aberrations due, possibly, to oversight or neglect?
2. Can the crises be solved within local, national, or regional boundaries, or must truly lasting solutions be effected within a global framework?
3. Can the crises be solved by traditional measures which have always been confined to an isolated aspect of social development, such as technology, economics, politics, etc. -- or must the strategy for solution be more comprehensive, involving all aspects of social life simultaneously?
4. How urgent is the resolution of the crises? Will delay buy time and make the implementation of solutions less painful? Or are solutions made more elusive by delay?
5. Is there a way to solve the total crises by cooperation without undue sacrifice on the part of any of the constituents of the world system; or is there the danger that some could gain permanently by seeking confrontation with their partners in the global context?

In proceeding through this Study-Unit, please keep the above questions at the forefront of your attention.

A. *Assignments*

1. *Reading Assignment*. Read the selections listed below *in the order presented*. Plan your schedules bearing in mind that this Study-Unit will take about 4 weeks time and that, while it does not include a writing assignment, it anticipates the writing assignment due on the last day of classes, as noted in the next and concluding Study-Unit VI. The recommended readings noted in

Section C, below, are intended to assist you further with your final writing assignment.

a. Required Readings. The following required readings are "on reserve" in the Main Library:

Cluster 1

HEILBRONER, pp. 61-144.

M. MESAROVIC & E. PESTEL, MANKIND AT THE TURNING POINT -- THE SECOND REPORT TO THE CLUB OF ROME (New York: Dutton, 1974), pp. 56-100.

J. MADDOX, THE DOOMSDAY SYNDROME (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp. 3-32.

SATURDAY REVIEW/WORLD, GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY ISSUE -- THE NEXT 50 YEARS, August 24, 1974:

N. Cousins, Prophecy and Pessimism, pp. 6-7;

R. Dubos, Recycling Social Man, pp. 8-10, 102-106;

A. Sakharov, Tomorrow: The View from Red Square, pp. 12-14, 108-110;

M. Bundy, After the Deluge, The Covenant, pp. 18-20, 112-114;

M. Djilas, E. Hughes, Lord Trevelyan & K. Wakaizumi, A World Atlas for 2024, pp. 25-27, 30-31, 116;

C. Luce, The 21st-Century Woman -- Free at Last?, pp. 58-62;

K. Waldheim, Toward Global Interdependence, pp. 63-64, 122;

T. Hesburgh, Will There Still Be A God?, pp. 82-84, 89;

N. Armstrong, Out of this World, pp. 32-34, 118;

W. von Braun, Space Riders in the Sky, pp. 35-36, 120-121;

J. Cousteau, The Perils and Potentials of a Watery Planet, pp. 41-44, 122;

M. DeBakey, The Medical Prognosis: Favorable, Treatable, Curable, pp. 46-48, 124.

Cluster 2

BROWN, pp. 113-180, 230-318.

G. MODELSKI, PRINCIPLES OF WORLD POLITICS (New York: Free Press, 1972), pp. 288-355.

M. CAMPS, THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERDEPENDENCE -- A PRELIMINARY VIEW (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1974), pp. 21-103.

Cluster 3

L. BERES & H. TARG, REORDERING THE PLANET -- CONSTRUCTING ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURES (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1974), pp. 46-61, 63-91, 110-151.

Falk, Toward a New World Order: Modest Methods and Drastic Visions, in S. MENDLOVITZ, ed., ON

THE CREATION OF A JUST WORLD ORDER (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 211-258. [This selection, published since the initial choice of course materials, constitutes a recent, more developed analysis of the themes covered at pp. 246-352 of Falk's THIS ENDANGERED PLANET. Time permitting, you are encouraged to review these pages as well.]

R. FALK, A STUDY OF FUTURE WORLDS (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 224-275. [This selection, published since the initial choice of course materials, constitutes a recent, more developed analysis of the themes covered at pp. 353-413 of Falk's THIS ENDANGERED PLANET. Time permitting, you are encouraged to review these pages as well.]

Mazrui, World Culture and the Search for Human Consensus, in S. MENDLOVITZ, ed., ON THE CREATION OF A JUST WORLD ORDER (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 1-37).

Lin, Development Guided by Values: Comments on China's Road and Its Implication, in S. MENDLOVITZ, ed., ON THE CREATION OF A JUST WORLD ORDER (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 259-296.

Livingston, Science Fiction Models of Future World Order Systems, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, vol. 55, Spring 1971, pp. 254-270.

b. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.

c. Recommended Readings. In addition to the full texts from which the above required readings have been drawn, and the extensive bibliography set forth in your Course Manual relative to Study-Unit IV above, consult your Course Manual for recommended readings. The readings selected can be a valuable resource for the writing assignment due on the last day of classes, as noted in the next and concluding Study-Unit VI.

WEEK 14

VI. Human Survival, Global Interdependence, and the Individual

Whenever one deals with the sorts of mind-boggling issues we consider in this course, one risks the possibility of "psychological denial" -- by which is meant that whenever a problem is presented without some ready or apparent solution a typical response is to act as if the problem does not exist in the first place. This phenomenon is especially evident when the problem is presented with little or no practical solution immediately available to the individual in everyday life. But as Aldous Huxley has reminded us, "[f]acts do not cease to exist because they are ignored." It behooves us, therefore, to consider in what way or ways we can be, as they say, not part of the problem but part of the solution. In a recent article excerpted from the liberal Hamburg newspaper _Die Zeit_, German author Gunter Grass has made the point most eloquently. See Grass, _The New Barbarism_, ATLAS WORLD PRESS REVIEW, July 1975, pp. 9-11 ("on reserve" in the Main Library).

In the preceding Study-Units, especially the last, we encounter a number of proposals for both the evolutionary adjustment and the revolutionary transformation of the present world order system about which Gunter Grass writes so desparingly. Where we stand in relation to these proposals is of course a matter of our own personal values and perceptions about the degree to which change actually is needed. But regardless of whether we favor evolutionary or revolutionary strategies for coping with the future, one thing is clear: no system change of any kind is possible without at least some effective involvement on the part of the individual human being.

This Study-Unit is thus concerned with the individual and his/her potential for influencing creative change. While but a brief introduction to the problem, and therefore offered in the sanguine spirit of historian Arnold Toynbee who wrote on the eve of World War II:

> The dead civilizations are not "dead by fate"; and therefore a living civilization is not doomed inexorably in advance _migrare ad plures_: to join the majority of its kind that have suffered shipwreck. Though sixteen civilizations may have perished already to our knowlege, and nine others may be now at the point of death, and though Nature, in her wanton prodigality, may be wont to slay the representatives of a species, not by tens or scores, but by thousands and tens of thousands, before she rouses herself to create a new specific mutation, we need fear no evil from the encompassing shadow of Death; for we are not compelled to submit our fate to the blind arbitrament of statistics. The divine spark of creative power is instinct in ourselves; and if we have the grace to kindle it into flame, then the stars in their courses cannot defeat our efforts to attain the goal of human endeavors.[7]

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[7] A. TOYNBEE, A STUDY OF HISTORY (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), vol. 4, p. 39.

A. Assignments

1. Reading Assignment. Read the selections listed below in the order presented, bearing in mind that they, together with materials contained in Study-Unit V, are keyed to the final writing assignment noted in Section A (2) below.
   a. Required Readings. The following required readings are "on reserve" in the Main Library:
      BROWN, pp. 321-364.
      FALK, pp. 415-448.
      E. LASZLO, A STRATEGY FOR THE FUTURE -- A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO WORLD ORDER (New York: Braziller, 1974), pp. 65-83.
      C. BEITZ & M. WASHBURN, CREATING THE FUTURE -- A GUIDE TO LIVING AND WORKING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), pp. 11-24, 391-422.
      G. LAKEY, STRATEGY FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION (San Francisco: Freeman, 1973), pp. 167-214.
   b. Study/Discussion Questions. See your Course Manual.
2. Writing Assignment. Relying upon the above required and subsequent recommended readings, as well as the readings in Study-Units IV and V and such other materials as you may find for yourself, prepare a concise (10-15 page) paper on the theme HUMANKIND 2000: MY PERSONAL IMPERATIVE. Your paper should be organized to include, seriatim, the following: (1) a description of the "preferred world" you would recommend for yourself and your children; (2) a prognosis of the principal normative/institutional changes you think would be needed, if any, to make your "preferred world" a reality; and (3) a diagnosis of how you personally can contribute effectively to this end. Before putting pen to paper, however, please consider carefully the following three propositions: first, that convincing advocacy requires that you be clear about those things which concern you most and, hence, about your own values; second, that the different preferred values you clarify for yourself probably will conflict here and there, and therefore will require rank-ordering; and third, that feasibility as well as desirability is an indispensible factor in successful social reform. Additionally, you should consider the benefits that attend talking with your colleagues and friends before and during the completion of this assignment. This kind of ongoing interaction can be extremely helpful.

   Your paper will be due no later than the last day of classes, and should be prepared as before, except that it should be double-spaced.

B. Recommended Readings. In addition to the full texts from which the above required readings have been drawn, consult your Course Manual for recommended readings. The selected readings can be a valuable resource for the final writing assignment noted in Section A (2) above.

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL LAW
Law 285
Political Science 110

Burns H. Weston
1974-75, 1975-76

College of Law and
Department of Political Science
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

This course is based upon a problem-oriented coursebook being authored by Burns H. Weston (Iowa), Richard A. Falk (Princeton), and Anthony D'Amato (Northwestern) for use by both law students and upper-division undergraduates. The coursebook, tentatively entitled International Law and World Order, will be published by the West Publishing Company (St. Paul, MN) in 1979. The following outline reflects the coursebook design as so far developed.

PART I

A. The Concept and Sources of International Law (Readings and Discussion Questions).

B. The Enforcement and Effectiveness of International Law (Readings and Discussion Questions).

C. The Historical Purposes and Normative Scope of International Law (Readings and Discussion Questions).

D. The Constitutive Structure of International Law (Readings and Discussion Questions).

E. The Contemporary Challenge to International Law (Readings and Discussion Questions).

PART II

This section of the course (and coursebook) consists of eight hypothetical problems, each of which attempts to relate leading international law rules, principles, and doctrines to one or more issues of major world order significance. Students are asked to identify the legal questions involved, to consider their short- and long-term policy implications, and to simulate their resolution in a variety of decision-making arenas. Also, in anticipation of Part III (which deals with the future of the international legal order, both probable and possible), they are asked to speculate upon the normative, institutional, and procedural changes that might be needed to deal effectively and equitably with the major world order issue(s) presented. No more than four problems are recommended for study per 14-week semester.

A. Peace (War Prevention) Problems

Problem 1: International law, civil conflict and external intervention (Kilimanjaro, others and the global peacekeeping system).

Problem 2: International law and nuclear proliferation (Sharaq and France vs. Budhistan and Rajadesh before the World Court).

B. Social/Political Justice Problems

Problem 3: International law, the discrimination of minorities and the treatment of alleged terrorists (Lutheria and Petrino in the European human rights system).

Problem 4: International law and spreading authoritarianism (Hispania in the United States Congress).

C. Economic Well-Being Problems

Problem 5: International law, development and the nationalization of alien-owned property (Oceana vs. Global Petroleum Corporation in the Centre for the Settlement of International Investment Disputes).

Problem 6: International law, contracts and the right to food (Country X in the World Bank group system).

D. Ecological Balance Problems

Problem 7: International law and the uses of the seas (Costa Grande vs. Islabella in the O.A.S.).

Problem 8: International law and the pollution of international rivers (Phoenicia vs. Byblos and Tripolana in international arbitration).

PART III

A. The International Legal System Re-examined: Past, Present and Probable Future (Readings and Discussion Questions).

B. Human Survival and World Order: The Critical Present and the Preferred Future (Readings and Discussion Questions).

B. PEACE (WAR PREVENTION)

INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL CHOICE

Francis A. Beer
Spring, 1977

Dept. of Political Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

The purpose of this course is to explore the reasons why people go to war, and the possibility that they might one day cease to do so.

The course is divided into three major sections, which are concerned with remembering, understanding, and choosing international violence. The first section focuses on the past experience of war. In the second, we seek to understand international violence by examining the international system. The third section is concerned with choice at international, national, and individual levels.

I. THE EXPERIENCE OF WAR

1. War as National Policy Decision

Reading: D. Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest. New York: Random House, 1972.
R. F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days. New York: W. W. Norton, 1969.
B. Tuchman, The Guns of August. New York: Dell, 1962.
R. Wohlstetter, Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.

2. War as Personal Tragedy

Reading: J. G. Gray, The Warriors. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.
R. J. Lifton, Death in Life. New York: Random House, 1967.
D. Trumbo, Johnny Got His Gun. New York: L. Stuart, 1970.
M. Twain, The War Prayer. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

3. War as a Disease

Reading: F. Beer, How Much War in History? Beverly Hills: Sage, 1974.
L. Richardson, Statistics of Deadly Quarrels. Pittsburgh and Chicago: Boxwood and Quadrangle, 1960.
J. D. Singer, The Wages of War: A Statistical Handbook. New York: John Wiley, 1972.
P. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. 3, Fluctuation of Social Relationships, War, and Revolution. New York: American Book Co., 1937.

II. CAUSES OF PEACE AND WAR

Reading: F. Beer, "A Methodology of World Order," in L. Beres & H. Targ, eds., Planning for Alternative World Futures. New York: Praeger, 1975.

1. Violence

Reading: L. Berkowitz, "The Contagion of Violence," in H. Hirsch and D. Perry, eds., Violence as Politics. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.

2. Technology

Reading: L. Mumford, The Myth of the Machine. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1967-1970.

3. Bureaucracy

a. International Law

Reading: T. Taylor, Nuremberg and Vietnam. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970.
W. Von Glahn, Law Among Nations. New York: Macmillan, 1970.

b. International Organization

Reading: H. Newcombe, National Patterns in International Organizations. Canadian Peace Research Institute, 1976.

c. Armaments

Reading: H. York, ed., Arms Control. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973.
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Yearbook on World Armaments and Disarmaments, 1969 et seq.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare (6 vols.), 1971.

d. Domestic Government and Politics

Reading: K. L. Nelson, ed., The Impact of War on American Life. New York: Holt-Rinehart-Winston, 1971. Chs. 2, 6, 10, 13.

4. Exchange

a. International Transactions

Reading: I. Adelman and C. T. Morris, Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1973.
J. Bosch, Pentagonism, A Substitute for Imperialism (tr., H. R. Lane). New York: Grove Press, 1968.
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), The Arms Trade with the Third World, 1971.
G. Thayer, The War Business. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969.
S. Weissman et al., The Trojan Horse: A Radical Look at Foreign Aid. San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1975.

b. Domestic Markets

Reading: Nelson, Chs. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15.
M. H. Brenner, Mental Illness and the Economy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
S. Melman, Pentagon Capitalism. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

5. Language

a. International Communication

Reading: W. Davison, Mass Communication and Conflict Resolution. New York: Praeger, 1974.
T. Frank and E. Weisband, Word Politics. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
W. A. Gamson and A. Modligliani, Untangling the Cold War. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
O. Holsti, Crisis, Escalation and War. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972.
M. Midlarsky, On War. New York: Free Press, 1975.

L. Richardson, Arms and Insecurity. Pittsburgh and Chicago: Boxwood and Quadrangle, 1960.

b. Domestic Community

Reading: Nelson, Chs. 4, 8, 12, 16.
I. K. & R. L. Feierabend and T. Gurr, eds., Anger, Violence and Politics. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
J. Frank, Sanity and Survival. New York: Random House, 1967.
P. Green, Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence. New York: Schocken, 1968.
S. Milgram, Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.

III. CHOOSING PEACE OR WAR

1. World Choice

Reading: J. Brunner, Stand on Zanzibar. New York: Ballantine Books, 1968.
R. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds. New York: Free Press, 1975.
S. Mendlovitz, ed., On the Creation of a Just World Order. New York: Free Press, 1975.
D. Meadows et al., The Limits to Growth. New York: Universe Books, 1972.
M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974.

2. National Choice

Reading: I. L. Janis, Victims of Groupthink. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.
J. Meuller, War, Presidents and Public Opinion. New York: John Wiley, 1973.
G. Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency.

A. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency. New York: Popular Library, 1974.

3. Individual Choice

Reading: P. Beagle, The Last Unicorn. New York: Ballantine Books, 1968.
A. Camus, Neither Victims Nor Executioners. San Francisco: World Without War Publications, 1972.
G. Sharp, The Politics of Non-Violent Action. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973.

COPING WITH INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
Social Sciences 174

Roger Fisher
Spring, 1977

Social Sciences
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

GENERAL MEMORANDUM

This course is a work project to try out some ideas and -- with student help -- to improve them. It is concerned with bridging the gap between theory and practice. It is not concerned with transmitting large amounts of factual information. Rather it seeks to develop analytical skills that bring knowledge to bear on the practical question of who should do what tomorrow morning.

Structure of the course. The course is designed to permit a maximum amount of student contribution. Student ideas and suggestions as to how to improve the theory, or the content or process of the course -- for this year or for a subsequent year -- are strongly encouraged. After the first week the Thursday lecture will usually consider one tool or skill (as currently developed) for analyzing, dissecting, or otherwise operating on a conflict. Each week students will be given a chance to apply this tool with pencils and paper to a given conflict and to produce one or two-page worksheets which will be discussed in the section meeting on Friday or Monday. On Tuesday the class will meet as a whole in a discussion session for two-way feedback on the results of the operational technique, on the technique itself, and on ways in which it could be improved upon and carried forward. During succeeding weeks different techniques will be applied, usually to different conflicts.

Concurrently, each student will be expected to make a continuing analysis of one current international conflict. To that conflict he or she will apply as many of the techniques developed in the course (or improvements upon them) and as many lessons from other conflict situations as appear relevant.

Students will be expected to engage in some additional research on the particular conflict on which they are working and to write up their analysis of that conflict in a final paper of, say, 25 to 35 pages in length. The conclusion of each paper should be a recommendation of a specific operational step that some identified person ought to undertake. Papers of high quality will be forwarded by the instructor to the person to whom the recommendation is addressed, with a covering letter suggesting consideration.

FORMAL REQUIREMENTS

Readings are intended to help in the solution of problems and in the writing of papers. They are not to be memorized.

The New York Times. Current conflicts will be discussed in class and students will be expected to keep up to date on international situations that are taking place during the semester. A more or less daily reading of the international news in the New York Times is sufficient for this purpose.

Participation in section meetings is required and will count for 20% of the grade. Participation in discussion sessions is also expected but will not be graded.

Problems. Ten problems will be set; students should turn in one- or two-page worksheets for at least five. Worksheets can be marked up and improved during section meetings and turned in at the end of the hour. The best five turned in by each student will count for 30% of the course grade.

Final Paper. The final paper will be due on May 15 and will count 50% of the course grade.

No exam. There will be no mid-term and no final exam.

SYLLABUS

Theory and Approach

Lectures: February 8, 10 and 15

Readings: Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners (Harper & Row, 1969) (paperback).
Anatol Rapaport, Management of Conflicts in a Human Environment (excerpt).
Roger Fisher, Dear Israelis, Dear Arabs (Harper & Row, 1972), Introduction, pp. 1-7.
Optional:
Machiavelli, The Prince (printed 1640) (W. J. Jonson, 1968).

Partisan Perceptions

Lectures: February 17, 22

Section Meeting: Problem No. 1: "What's the Problem?" Partisan perceptions -- seeing how they see it in the Middle East 1977.

Readings: American Friends Service Committee, Search for Peace in the Middle East (1970), pp. 1-49.
Brookings Institution, Toward Peace in the Middle East (Report of the Study Group, Dec. 1975).

Roger Fisher, Dear Israelis, Dear Arabs (1972), pp. 9-150.
Optional:
Amos Elon & Sana Hassan, Between Enemies.
Saul Friedlander & Mahmoud Hussein, Arabs and Israelis -- A Dialogue (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975).

An Atlas of Approaches

Lectures: February 24, March 1

Section Meeting: Problem No. 2: "Whose Facts?" Wanted: An atlas of partial truths and illuminating distortions -- Looking at the Middle East through the eyes of different disciplines and professions.

Readings:
Richard Ullman, "Alliance with Israel," Foreign Policy, Summer 1975.
Stanley Hoffman, "A New Policy for Israel," Foreign Affairs, April 1975.
Herbert Kelman, et. al., "An Israeli-Palestinian Pilot Workshop" (unpublished).
Herbert Kelman, The Role of the Individual in International Relations (1970).
Graham Allison, The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (Little-Brown, 1971), pp. 144-184, footnotes on pp. 312-316.

Three Means for Affecting Others

Lectures: March 3, 8

Section Meeting: Problem No. 3: "Which Means Shall We Use?" Self-help, influence and education vs. a repetition of the Mayaguez incident.

Readings:
Jordan J. Paust, "The Seizure and Recovery of the Mayaguez," 85 Yale Law Journal 774-806 (1976).
Roger Fisher, "International Crises and the Role of Law - Points of Choice" (unpublished), pp. 11-28.
Thomas Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict (Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 1-20.

Selecting Points of Choice

Lectures: March 10, 15

Section Meeting: Problem No. 4: "Which Activity, Which Prince?" Selecting an activity, an ultimate "prince" and and intermediate target of influence: Chile 1975.

Readings:

"Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, by the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations," June 21, 1973, pp. i-iii, 1-20.

"Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations, with Respect to Intelligence Activities of the United States Senate," 94th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 204-209.

"Foreign and Military Intelligence, Book I, Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities," pp. 158-159.

Osvaldo Sunkel, "Big Business and 'Dependencia' - A Latin American View," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1972, pp. 517-531.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Multinational Corporations in World Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1974, pp. 153-175.

Their Choice Today

Lectures: March 17, 22

Section Meeting: Problem No. 5: "What's Their Choice?" Estimating the presently perceived choice of the Prime Minister of South Africa 1977.

Readings:

Arthur S. Banks, ed., *Political Handbook of the World, 1976 -- South Africa* (McGraw-Hill, 1976), pp. 326-331, Namibia, pp. 254-256.

State Department, *GIST* (Dec. 1976) "Southern Africa U.S. Policy."

Roger Fisher, "Presently Perceived Choices -- Two Examples."

Roger Fisher, *Influencing Our Adversaries* (1965) "In the Realities of Vietnam," pp. 121-130.

U.N. Office of Public Information, *United Nations & Southern Africa*, Bulletin No. 41, November 1976.

Edgar Lockwood, *National Security Study Memorandum 39 and the Future of United States Policy Toward Southern Africa* (1974).

Jennifer Davis, *Prosperity "For Whites Only": The Paradox of Economic Growth in South Africa*

Republic of South Africa, State Department of Information, "Multinational Development in South Africa: The Reality" (1974) (excerpts).

Changing Their Choice

Lectures: March 14, 29

Section Meeting: Problem No. 6: "How To Change Their Choice?" Cross-cleavages, fractionating conflict, and other strategies toward South Africa -- 1977-1978.

Readings:

Eric Nordlinger, Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies (Harvard Center for International Affairs, 1972).

Richard Fogg, A Repertoire of Creative, Peaceful Approaches to Conflict (unpublished, 1975), pp. 23-43.

Review, International Conflict for Beginners, especially Chapters 4 and 5.

Yesable Propositions

Lectures: March 31, April 12

Section Meeting: Problem No. 7: "What Yesable Proposition?" Constructing a yesable proposition -- Pakistan and the Risk of Nuclear Proliferation 1977.

Readings:

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Approaches to Arms Control and Disarmament (24th Report, N.Y. 1976), pp. 30-37.

Lincoln Bloomfield, "Nuclear Spread and World Order," Foreign Affairs, July 1976, pp. 743-755.

State Department, GIST (Dec. 1976) "U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy."

New York Times, "A Case Study of One Nuclear Deal: France and Pakistan" (Nov. 14, 1976).

Arthur S. Banks, Political Handbook of the World, 1976 "India," pp. 167-168, 170; "Pakistan," pp. 280-281.

William Epstein, "The Proliferation of Nulcear Weapons," Scientific American, April 1975, pp. 18-33.

Optional:

William O. Daub & Joseph M. Dukert, "Making Nuclear Energy Safe and Secure," Foreign Affairs, July 1975, pp. 756-772.

Abraham A. Ribicoff, "A Market-Sharing Approach to the World Nuclear Sales Problem," Foreign Affairs, July 1976, pp. 763-787.

Paul L. Jaskow, "The International Nuclear Industry Today: The End of the American Monopoly," Foreign Affairs, July 1976, pp. 788-803.

Restraints on Choice

Lectures: April 14, 19

Section Meeting: Problem No. 8: "Why Not?" Factors restraining a prince's choice -- Cyprus 1974.

Readings:
U.S. Senate Committee on the Juciciary, "Crisis on Cyprus" (Report of the Subcommittee on Refugees) (1974), Part I, pp. 9-51.
U.S. Congress, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Cyprus - 1974" (Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Its Subcommittee on Europe, 93rd Congress, 2d Session), pp. 2-32.

Roles for Law, et al.

Lectures: April 21, 26

Section Meeting: Problem No. 9: "What Special Insights from the Atlas?" Roles for law and other disciplinary approaches -- the Aegean Sea 1977.

Readings:
Nicos Mourcoyannis, "Factual Memorandum on the Aegean Conflict Between Greece and Turkey" (unpublished 1977).
Geneva Convention of 1958 on the Continental Shelf.
Roger Fisher, "International Crises and the Role of Law - Points of Choice" (unpublished), pp. 29-131.

Improving the System

Lectures: April 28, May 3

Section Meeting: Problem No. 10: "How To Fix the System?" Yesable propositions to improve the international system -- the U.N., the environment, population and all that, 1977-1978.

Readings:
Roger Fisher, "Improving Compliance with International Law" (unpublished) (excerpts).
Roger D. Hansen, et. al., The U.S. and World Development: Agenda for Action 1976 (Praeger, 1976), pp. 1-37.
Optional:
In Hansen, supra:
  Roger D. Hansen, The "Crisis of Interdependence": Where Do We Go From Here? pp. 41-66.
  Martin M. McLaughlin, The World Food Situation and the U.S. Role, pp. 67-86.
  James W. Howe, Toward a Global Approach to the Energy Problem, pp. 87-117.

Harland Cleveland, The Third Try at World Order (1976), especially pp. 33-49.
George Ball, Diplomacy for a Crowded World: A Foreign Policy for the U.S. (Little-Brown, 1976), Chapter 17.

Reading Period

FINAL PAPER DUE May 15

MEMORANDUM ON CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND THE FINAL PAPER

Throughout the semester each student is to make a continuing analysis of one particular international conflict, which will form the substance of the final paper. The paper should attempt to cope with a conflict and what some identifiable person ought to do about it.

There is no one best way of determining who should do what about a particular international situation. The entire course is devoted to learning some skills and to developing better ones to that end. The process in not linear; one must go back and forth, working from one piece of the puzzle to another until a satisfactory solution is found. These notes discuss some of the steps in the process in the hope that students may find them helpful in organizing their thinking and in organizing a paper which reflects their thinking.

Each paper is to constitute an answer to the question, "What ought someone do in the near future about X situation?" The paper should be written as a memorandum of advice to be transmitted to P ("our prince"), setting forth clearly and persuasively what specific action or actions he or she ought to undertake in order to make X situation less dangerous or less lethal as an international conflict. In this sense, every problem has a solution: assuming that P is in the position to have some effect on an existing or potential international conflict, what is the best advice that P ought to receive?

1. Select a problem. Select a current international situation that involves an ongoing or potential conflict. Take one in which bloodshed is a reality or a significant possibility, or take some other conflict situation which strikes you as less than perfect, and about which you believe somebody ought to be doing something. You may want to consider government to government situations like those involving United States relations with the Soviet Union, with Cuba, with Chile, with Japan, with Iraq, with Cambodia, with Vietnam, or with North Korea. Or you might select a potential or actual conflict suggested by such place names as Northern Ireland, Rhodesia, Nambia, Taiwan, South Africa or the Middle East.

2. Select "our prince" -- your advisee. This step may come at the beginning or may come much later in the process after you have figured out what you think needs to be done to change the conflict situation. You want to work on some such problem as what could a U.S. Senator do about apartheid in South Africa? Or what should the director of NBC News do about Northern Ireland? Or what should a Congressman do about the Arab boycott of U.S. firms trading with Israel? Or what should a U.S. conservation organization do about the Japanese killing of whales?

Our prince can be a neutral in a peacemaking role or a party to the conflict. Here (as in every other open-ended decision you make) it is a good idea to go through a conscious, two-stage procedure: (a) create a wide range of options (here, potential advisees); and then (b) select one among them.

3. Identify some major actors on "their" side. Here the task is to collect a list of potential leaders or others in positions of power involved in the conflict who will be the ultimate target of influence. In a two-party conflict where "we" are on one side, the ultimate target of influence or ultimate prince is likely to be the leader on the "other" side, such as Castro in Cuba, Ian Smith in Rhodesia, or Vorster in South Africa. If we were seeking to cut down the Japanese killing of whales, the ultimate prince would presumably be somebody in the Japanese Government or in the Japanese whaling industry. In a three-party situation where "we" are essentially neutral, and trying to produce peace between two other parties, you will want to identify significant leaders within each of the two partisan factions. You may decide to work on only one party, or you may try to produce a step (such as an invitation to a conference) which will be acceptable to both simultaneously. In either event the general task you face can be represented as follows:

WE		OUR PRINCE		ULTIMATE PRINCE
design advice	to be transmitted to	who, if he says "yes" to our advice, says and does things (our proposed action program)	that we believe will confront the	with a new choice and an increased chance that he will act in a way we think desirable.

4. Provisionally select one "ultimate prince." Having identified several leaders as potential targets of influence, pick the one (or two) whose decisions you will try to analyze with the goal in mind of affecting them. (Although a decisional body may be a committee or a cabinet, it often clarifies a problem to focus on one individual, perhaps a real or hypothetical member of that body. For example, if one were trying to get the IRA leadership

to make a decision, what would it take to get one member of that leadership to propose and argue in favor of the decision?)

5. Estimate their presently perceived choice. Analyze in terms of a balance sheet or other appropriate means the presently perceived choice of the ultimate prince (or princes). What is it that they probably believe they are now being asked to do? (How would they formulate that demand?) What would they see as the consequences of saying "yes" and the consequences of not saying yes? In listing these consequences on each side of the choice, consider all those of major significance, such as bureaucratic, political, psychological, economic, military, public opinion, legal, etc.

6. Clarify your purpose. There are many goals about which each of us care, goals such as equality, freedom, health, education, shelter, community, possessions and a chance to achieve and to utilize one's full potential. Since a better world would be both more just and more peaceful, and since injustice often provokes conflict, there is a widespread tendency to confuse the pursuit of a more just society with the pursuit of peace. Peace and justice are not, however, the same thing. One can have a peaceful situation (no fighting, no violence) which is far from just. And it is often the pursuit of justice (or the armed resistance to perceived injustice) that generates war. Conflicts usually involve people pursuing differing notions of a just outcome.

In many conflicts you will have an interest in the merits of the dispute. Here it becomes crucial to sort out your objective of victory (having you way; producing the change you believe desirable) from your objective of peace (having the conflict dealt with at a minimum cost in terms of human suffering). This course is focused on the problem of alleviating international conflicts. We are collectively concentrating our attention on the objective of peace -- a world in which nations and groups pursue their own values and their own ideas of justice at minimum risk and at minimum cost in terms of bloodshed, confrontation and stalemate. Victory as such is not our objective. We seek to develop and to market less dangerous ways of pursuing victory. But if our ideas are to be accepted, they must offer a good chance of success.

Having identified and sorted out your own values, and how they impinge on the particular conflict you are studying, the purpose of your advice should be either (1) to reduce the risks or costs of that conflict, or (2) to move toward what you consider a more just situation without increasing those risks or costs.

7. Invent some yesable propositions for the ultimate prince. Try to formulate two or more questions which it might be possible for our prince to arrange to have presented to the ultimate prince within the next six months under circumstances in which a "yes" answer would be desirable, plausible, sufficient and operational.

(If the person we had previously selected as our prince is not in a strong position, consider who might be in a better position to do what is necessary to confront the ultimate prince with the kind of choice with which you believe that he ought to be confronted.)

8. Select one yesable proposition for the ultimate prince. In the light of foregoing (and subsequent steps) settle upon a realistic goal. This is the decision you would like the ultimate prince to make some time within the next six months and which your recommendation will be intended to make more likely.

9. Construct the ultimate prince's future choice. Set out a proposed balance sheet which in one column will show the consequences from the point of view of the ultimate prince of saying "yes" to the yesable proposition and in another column will show the consequences of not saying "yes" (that is of saying "no" or of postponing a decision). The various factors in the two columns should be such (1) that you believe that it might be possible within a few months to create in the mind of the ultimate prince belief in the likelihood of those consequences as indicated in the chart, and (2) that faced with those apparent consequences there is a significant chance (say, 5% or better) that the ultimate prince would decide as you would like.

10. Action program for our prince. Outline the proposed actions to be taken by our prince in order to confront the ultimate prince with the proposed future choice.

11. Construct our prince's choice. Set up a balance sheet showing the way our prince is likely to see the consequences of following your advice and the consequences of not following it. On each side of the balance sheet there should be the estimated costs and benefits of deciding that way. (The major benefit of following the recommendation is presumably that there will then be a good chance of influencing the ultimate prince to decide as you would like him to decide. You must also consider the costs of trying, the risks of failure, etc.) The balance should be such that in your judgment if our prince is wise he will follow your advice. The only "leverage" to be used on our prince is advice -- pure reason.

Going through this analysis should produce an answer to the question: "What should P (our prince) do in order to exert a constructive influence on the X conflict?" Once the content of the advice is produced, the paper can be written up in the clearest and most persuasive fashion possible.

THE LITERATURE OF PEACE AND WAR
English 162

J. E. Grant
Spring, 1975
T, Th: 1:05-2:20

Department of English
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

READING LIST

Works will be read approximately in the order listed.

I. Required

Hemingway, Ernest, ed., Men At War. Berkley: Medallion.
Boyle and Van Gundy, eds., Enough of Dying: Voices for Peace. Dell: Laurel.
Voltaire, Candide, trans. R. M. Adams. Norton: Critical Edition.
Lewin, Leonard, introd., Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace. Dell: Delta.
Shakespeare, William, Henry V, ed. J. R. Brown. New American Library: Signet.
Austen, Jane, Persuasion, ed. D. Harding. Penguin: English Library.
Melville, Herman, Billy Budd, Sailor, eds. Hayford and Sealts. Chicago: Phoenix. or Billy Budd, Sailor and Other Stories, ed., Harold Beaver, Penguin: English Library.
Brodie, B. and Brodie F., From Crossbow to H Bomb. Indiana: Midland.
Shaw, G. B., Major Barbara. Penguin.
Morris, William, Three Works, introd. A. L. Morton: News From Nowhere. International.
Guerney, B. G., trans. Russian Literature of the Soviet Period: Zamiatin, We. Random House: Vintage.
Golding, William, The Inheritors. Pocket Books: Cardinal.
Montagu, A., ed., Man and Aggression, Oxford.
Brecht, Bertolt, Mother Courage and Her Children, trans. E. R. Bentley. Random House: Grove Black Cat.
Wilkinson, E., trans., The People's Comic Book. Doubleday: Anchor.

II. Recommended

Gray, J. Glenn, The Warriors. Harper & Row: Perennial Library.
Tolstoy, L. N., Writings on Civil Disobedience and Non-Violence. New American Library: Mentor.
Williams, M., ed., Revolutions 1775-1830. Penguin: Open University.

Lorenz, Konrad, *On Aggression*, trans. Wilson. Bantam.
Arendt, Hannah, *On Violence*. Harcourt Brace: Harvest.
Clausewitz, *On War*. Penguin.

Note: Brief writings not included in these volumes will also be duplicated for reading.

THE SCOPE AND PURPOSES OF THIS COURSE

This inquiry into conceptions of the place of large scale organized violence contained in imaginative literature will be concentrated on works written in the twentieth century. Some attention will also be paid to works written in earlier times; authors studied will include Shakespeare, Voltaire, and Austen while other authors such as Homer, Cervantes, and Tolstoy will be mentioned with some frequency. Among the topics to be considered are theories of human nature that are implicit in literary works and prevalent in philosophy, anthropology, and political theory. Problems of the weaponry and economics of contemporary warfare states and various ideas of human evolution and the place of revolutions in social life will be among other matters discussed. Some primarily non-verbal media such as visual arts, comic strips, and films will occasionally be utilized.

As a course jointly sponsored by the Iowa Center for World Order Studies, this course will address concerns of graduates and advanced undergraduates in a variety of fields, but it will presuppose some familiarity with the methods of literary study and a concern with precise and lucid expression. Independent guided investigation of a number of related topics will be encouraged for students prepared to undertake it. Such study should be of particular utility for prospective teachers who wish to become conversant with humanistic disciplines.

Lectures and discussions. Two or three papers and two essay examinations.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Jan.	14	Introduction: Poems by Frost and Jarrell
	16	Kafka, *Jackels and Arabs* Brecht, *The Measures Taken*
	21	Voltaire, *Candide*
	23	Lewin, *Report from Iron Mountain* Slides: Non-Violence
	28	Shakespeare, *Henry V*

	30	Review
	31	Paper due
Feb.	4	Perspectives
	6	Austen, *Persuasion*
	11	Austen, *Persuasion*
	13	Melville, *Billy Budd, Sailor*
	18	Melville, *Benito Cereno*
	20	Review
	25	Essay examination
	27	Brodie and Brodie, *From Crossbow to H Bomb*
March	4	Shaw, *Major Barbara*
	6	Shaw, *Major Barbara*
Vacation		
	18	Morris, *News from Nowhere*
	20	Morris, *News from Nowhere*
Sunday	23	Dramatization of *Henry V*
	25	Zamiatin, *We*
	27	Zamiatin, *We*
April	1	Orwell, *Essays and Selections from 1984*
	3	Orwell, *Essays and Selections from 1984*
	4	Paper due
	8	Golding, *The Inheritors*
	10	Golding, *The Inheritors*
	15	Montagu, ed., *Man and Aggression*
	17	Brecht, *Mother Courage and Her Children*
	22	Wilkinson, trans., *The People's Comic Book*

	24	Hemingway, ed., *Men at War* (selections)
	29	Boyle and Van Grundy, eds., *Enough of Dying* (selections)
May	1	Conclusion
	14	Final Examination

INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AND PEACE*

P. Terrence Hopmann
Brian L. Job

International Studies
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1) Students are requested to purchase the following books:

Beres, Louis Rene and Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet: Constructing Alternative World Futures. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974.
Feierabend, Ivo K., Rosalind L. Feierabend, and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., Anger, Violence, and Politics. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
Prosterman, Roy L., Surviving to 3000: An Introduction to the Study of Lethal Conflict. Belmont, Cal.: Duxbury Press, 1972.
Pruitt, Dean G. and Richard C. Snyder, eds., Theory and Research on the Causes of War. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
Waltz, Kenneth N., Man, the State, and War. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
Wasserstrom, Richard A., ed., War and Morality. Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970.

2) In addition to the above books, the following books and articles are on reserve:

Beitz, Charles R. and Theodore Herman, eds., Peace and War. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973.
Camus, Albert, Resistance, Rebellion, and Death. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.
Choucri, Nazli and Robert C. North, "Dynamics of International Conflict: Some Policy Implications of Population, Resources, and Technology," World Politics, Vol. XXIV, Spring 1972, Supplement, pp. 80-122.
Galtung, Johan, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," Journal of Peace Research, 1971, No. 2, pp. 81-177.
Osgood, Robert E. and Robert W. Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967.

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*This course outline is a summary syllabus of the learning package entitled "International Violence and Peace," prepared as a part of the World Order Studies Project at the University of Minnesota.

Ramsey, Paul, The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968.
Rosecrance, Richard N., "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the Future," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. X, 1966, pp. 314-327.
Russett, Bruce M., ed., Peace, War, and Numbers. Beverly Hills, Cal.: Sage Publications, 1972.
Small, Melvin and J. David Singer, "Patterns in International Warfare, 1816-1965," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1970, pp. 145-155.

3) The following mimeograph manual will be provided in class:

Hopmann, P. Terrence and Charles Walcott, "An International Relations Simulation," University of Minnesota, World Order Studies Project, 1974.

SCHEDULE OF COURSE ACTIVITIES

Simulation: Students will be required to participate in a simulation exercise once a week beginning early in the course. Before coming to the first session of the simulation, students should complete the following reading assignments:

Dean G. Pruitt and Richard C. Snyder, eds., Theory and Research on the Causes of War, Chapter by Guetzkow (Ch. 20).
P. Terrence Hopmann and Charles Walcott, "An International Relations Simulation."

Movie: "The War Game": This movie should be shown in the first week of classes to illustrate the consequences of international violence.

Unit I: Moral and Normative Perspectives on International Violence

Readings: Richard A. Wasserstrom, ed., War and Morality, Introduction (p. 1ff.), Chapters by Jones (p. 4ff.), Anscombe (p. 42ff.), Walzer (p. 54ff.), Narveson (p. 63ff.), and Wasserstrom (p. 78ff.); skim all other chapters.
Charles R. Beitz and Theodore Herman, eds., Peace and War, Chapters 1 and 2 (Articles by Potter, Horsburgh, Guevera, Dedijer, and Grundy, plus Introductions).
Paul Ramsey, The Just War, Chapters 6 and 7.
Robert E. Osgood and Robert W. Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice, Part II, Chapter 1.
Albert Camus, Resistance, Rebellion, and Death, pp. 1-32.

Paper #1: "Preferred World Futures and Normative Issues Surrounding Violence and Nonviolence," this paper will be due shortly after the end of Unit I. Students should attempt to develop on a normative foundation their view of what the world *ought* to look like in the year 2000, especially as it relates to the role of violence as a mechanism for promoting or preventing change in international politics.

Unit II: The Causes of War: Individual and Anthropological Explanations

Readings: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chapters I-III.
Roy L. Prosterman, *Surviving to 3000*, Chapters 2-4.

Unit III: The Causes of War: Nation-State Explanations

Readings: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chapters IV and V.
Ivo K. Feierabend, Rosalind L. Feierabend, and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Anger, Violence, and Politics*, Chapters 1-7 (Chapters by Eckstein, Gurr, Schwartz, Davies, Galtung, Eckstein, and Feierabend, *et al.*), Chapters 9-10 (Chapters by Feierabend and Feierabend and by Gurr).
Roy L. Prosterman, *Surviving to 3000*, Chapter 1 and part of Chapter 5 (pp. 167-182).
Dean G. Pruitt and Richard C. Snyder, eds., *Theory and Research on the Causes of War*, Chapter 16 (Chapter by Rummel).

Paper #2: A paper will be due shortly after the end of Unit III based on a data analysis exercise distributed in class. The exercise essentially requires students to identify phenomenon associated with the outbreak of conflict on an international scale, both within and between states. Thus the exercise will require students to identify potential causes of conflict on the basis of an analysis of empirical data. The data to be analyzed will be provided by the instructors along with general suggestions for analyzing the data.

Unit IV: The Causes of War: The International System

Readings: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chapters VI and VII.
Dean G. Pruitt and Richard C. Snyder, eds., *Theory and Research on the Causes of War*, Part One (Introduction), Part Two (Introduction and Chapters by Levi, Singer, and Schelling and Halperin), and Part III (Introduction and Chapters by Deutsch, Holsti, *et al.*, Robinson, *et al.*, and McClelland) and Part IV (Introduction and Chapters by Snyder, Raser and Crow, and Brody and Benham).

Bruce M. Russett, ed., *Peace, War and Numbers*, Chapters 1 and 2 (Chapters by Singer *et al.*, and Wallace).

Melvin Small and J. David Singer, "Patterns in International Warfare, 1816-1965," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 1970, pp. 145-155.

Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North, "Dynamics of International Conflict: Some Policy Implications of Population, Resources, and Technology," *World Politics*, Vol. XXIV, Spring 1972, Supplement, pp. 80-122.

Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," *Journal of Peace Research*, 1971, No. 2, pp. 81-117.

Richard N. Rosecrance, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity, and the Future," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. X, 1966, pp. 314-327.

Roy L. Prosterman, *Surviving to 3000*, Part of Chapter 5 (pp. 182-218) and Chapter 7.

Unit V: The Future: International Violence, Conflict Resolution, and Peace

Readings: Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State, and War*, Chapter VIII.

Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, *Reordering the Planet*, entire.

Roy L. Prosterman, *Surviving to 3000*, Chapter 8.

Dean G. Pruitt and Richard C. Snyder, eds., *Theory and Research on the Causes of War*, Part V (Introduction and Chapters by de Sola Pool, Alger, and Osgood).

Charles R. Beitz and Theodore Herman, eds., *Peace and War*, Chapter 5, (Articles by Reardon and Mendlovitz, Clark and Claude).

Paper #3: This paper will be due near the end of the course. The purpose of the paper is for students to present a critical evaluation of the simulation exercise. The paper should deal critically with the value of the simulation as a device for demonstrating possible strategies of transition from present states of the international system to future desired states.

Final Examination: The final examination covers lectures, discussions, and readings for the entire course.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Harvey Starr
Spring, 1975

Graduate Seminar
Dept. of Political Science
University of Indiana
Bloomington, IN

The purpose of this seminar will be to introduce the student to a wide range of literature focused on the phenomena of conflict in international relations. This course will attempt to highlight the most salient aspects of the conflict side of the conflict and cooperation continuum. The first part of the course, "International Conflict: What?" will try to clarify concepts and ways to measure them. The second part, "International Conflict: Why?" will be organized around Waltz's three "images" or levels of analysis: man and human behavior; internal aspects of the nation state; and the international environment. The final part, "International Conflict: What Is to Be Done?" will be concerned with modes of conflict resolution.

As a seminar, student attendance and performance will be important, and account for 33% of the grade. Student responsibilities include a weekly set of three questions about the week's reading, due the day before class. There will be a take home final at the end of the semester. In addition, seminar members will be able to select a project from four possibilities. Briefly, these include: a literature review; a quantitative research paper; a Roger Fisher-like conflict resolution analysis; the development and report on a 2-person conflict game. The project and final exam will each count towards 33% of the seminar grade. Basic descriptions of the types of seminar projects to be completed can be found in Feraru, pp. 49-67.

Books for purchase (all paper) are:

Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, New York: Free Press, 1964.
Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State, and War, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners, New York: Harper & Row, 1969.
Anatol Rapoport, Fights, Games and Debates, Ann Arbor, Mi.: University of Michigan Press, 1960.
Norman Alcock, The War Disease, Oakville, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Assn., 1972.
Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1974.
Anne Feraru, Learning Package in International Conflict, New York: Consortium for International Studies Education, 1974.

I. INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: WHAT?

A. General Perspectives and Orientations

1. Forms of Conflict: Getting a Grip on a Slippery Subject

Minimum Reading (all required)

Anne Feraru, Learning Package in International Conflict, New York: Consortium for International Studies Education, 1974.
Anatol Rapoport, Fights, Games and Debates, Ann Arbor, Mi.: University of Michigan Press, 1960.
Morton Deutsch, The Resolution of Conflict: Constructive and Destructive Processes, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973, pp. 3-18.
Robert North, "Conflict: Political Aspects," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. III, pp. 226-31.
Robert Osgood and Robert Tucker, Force, Order and Justice, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1967, Ch. 1.
Thomas Schelling, "Diplomacy of Violence," in Beitz and Herman, eds., Peace and War, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973.

Recommended

H. L. Nieburg, Political Violence: The Behavioral Process, New York: St. Martin's, 1969 (esp. Ch. 1).
Osgood and Tucker, remaining Chs.
Phillip Brickman, Social Conflict: Readings in Rule Structures and Conflict Relationships, Indianapolis, Ind.: D. C. Heath, 1973 (esp. "Introduction").

2. Processes Involved in Conflict

Minimum Reading

Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, New York: Free Press, 1964 (all).

Read at least 2-3 of the following:

Kenneth Boulding, Conflict and Defense: A General Theory, New York: Harper, 1962.
Morton Deutsch, The Resolution of Conflict, Ch. 2.
L. Bloomfield and A. Leiss, Controlling Small Wars: A Strategy for the 1970's, New York: Knopf, 1962, Ch. 2.
Richard Barringer, War, Patterns of Conflict, Boston: MIT Press, 1972, Ch. 2.

R. North, H. Koch, D. Zinnes, "The Integrative Functions of Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 4, 1966, pp. 355-74.

Recommended

rest of Barringer; Bloomfield and Leiss
R. Dynes and E. Quarantelli, "The Absence of Community Conflict in the Early Phases of Natural Disasters," in C. Smith, ed., Conflict Resolution: Contributions of the Behavioral Sciences, Notre Dame, In.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972.
Lewis Coser, "Some Social Functions of Violence," Annals, vol. 364, March 1966.

B. Surveys of Conflict Literature

Minimum Reading

Elizabeth Converse, "The War of All Against All," J. Conflict Resolution, 12, 1968, pp. 471-532.
Hanna and Alan Newcombe, Peace Research Around the World, Canadian Peace Research Assn., pp. 1-24.

Read at least 2 of the following:

Clinton Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict," J. Conflict Resolution, 12, 1968.
R. Mack and R. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict," J. Conflict Resolution, 1, 1957, p. 212.
Martin Patchen, "Models of Conflict and Cooperation," J. Conflict Resolution, 14, 1970.
J. Dougherty and R. Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1971, Ch. 5.
J. Bernard, "Some Current Conceptualizations in the Field of Conflict," American Journal of Sociology, 70, 1965, pp. 442-54.

Recommended

Norman Alcock, War Disease, Oakville, Ontario: CPRI Press, 1972 (check out organization).
Michael Haas, "Sources of International Conflict," in Rosenau, Davis, and East, The Analysis of International Politics.
See also, the Bibliographic Note at the end of this syllabus.

C. The Concept of War and Its Measurement

1. War--The Statistics of Deadly Quarrels

Minimum Reading

Karl Deutsch, "Changing Images of International Conflict," J. Social Issues, 23, 1967, pp. 91-107.
Alcock, The War Disease, Chs. 1, 2.
Quincy Wright, "War," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 16, pp. 453-68.
Anatol Rapoport, "Two Views on Conflict: Cataclysmic and Strategic Models," Proceedings of the International Peace Reseach Association Inaugural Conference.

Read also at least one of the following groupings:

(a) Robert North, "Wright on War," J. Conflict Resolution, 14, 1970.
Anatol Rapoport, "Lewis F. Richardson's Mathematical Theory of War," J. Conflict Resolution, 1, 1957 (focus particularly on pp. 249-58; 293-98).
Rapoport, Fights, Games, Debates, Ch. 5.

(b) J. D. Singer, "From A Study of War to Peace Research: Some Criteria and Strategies," J. Conflict Resolution, 14, 1970, pp. 527-42.
J. D. Singer,"The 'Correlates of War' Project: Interim Report and Rationale," World Politics, 24, 1972, 243-70.
Harvey Starr, "An Appraisal of the Substantive Findings of the Correlates of War Project" (in-house collection).
Raymond Duvall, "An Appraisal of the Methodological and Statistical Procedures of the Correlates of War Project" (in-house collection).
Brian Job and Charles Ostrom, "An Appraisal of the Research Design and Philosophy of Science of the Correlates of War Project" (in-house collection).

(c) Lewis F. Richardson, Statistics of Deadly Quarrels, Pacific Grove, Ca.: Boxwood Press, 1960, Chs. 1, 2.
Quincy Wright, A Study of War (unabridged), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, Appendices XIX-XXI.
J. D. Singer and M. Small, The Wages of War: 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook, New York: Wiley, 1972.

Recommended

Wright, A Study of War (abridged version), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
Wright, unabridged, Chs. 1, 2, 16, 17.
D. Pruitt and R. Snyder, Theory and Research on the Causes of War, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969 (throughout).
F. Charles Ikle, Every War Must End, New York: Columbia, University Press, 1971.
Richardson, Arms and Insecurity, Pacific Grove, Ca.: Boxwood Press, 1960, and Statistics of Deadly Quarrels (see above).
Robert Harrison, Warfare, Burgess Publ. Co., 1973.
Geoffrey Blainey, The Causes of War, New York: Free Press, 1973.
C. Beitz and T. Herman, Peace and War.
K. Deutsch and D. Senghaas, "Toward a Theory of War and Peace," in Lepawsky, et al., The Search for World Order, Essays in Honor of Quincy Wright, New York: Irvington, 1971.

2. Patterns of International Conflict

Minimum Reading

Alcock, The War Disease, Chs. 5, 10.
Richardson, Statistics of Deadly Quarrels, "Editors' Introduction."
M. Small and J. D. Singer, "Patterns in International Warfare, 1816-1965," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 391, Nov. 1970.

Read at least 1-2 of the following:

Singer and Small, Wages of War, Chs. 7-14 (reading one in depth and skimming the rest).
R. Naroll, "Deterrence in History," in Pruitt and Snyder, Theory and Research on the Causes of War.
Istvan Kende, "Twenty Five Years of Local Wars," J. Peace Research, 1971:1, pp. 5-27.
Barringer, War, Patterns of Conflict, Ch. 6.
Frank Denton, "Some Regularities in International Conflict, 1820-1949," Background (ISQ), 4, 1966.
Frank Denton and Warren Phillips, "Some Patterns in the History of Violence," J. Conflict Resolution, 11, 1967.
Frank Klingberg, "Predicting the Termination of War: Battle Casualties and Population Losses," J. Conflict Resolution, 10, 1968.

Recommended

Bruce M. Russett, ed., Peace, War and Numbers, Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage 1972.
John Voedvodsky, "Quantitative Analysis of Nations at War," Peace Research Reviews, vol. 3, no. 5, 1970.

II. INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: WHY?

A. The "First Image": Man and Human Behavior

1. Social Psych and Psychological Approaches

Minimum Reading

Alcock, The War Disease, Chs. 7, 8, 9.
Waltz, Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959 (Chs. 2, 3).
Rapoport, Fights, Games, Debates, Part III.

If possible, one of the following:

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, Ch. 7.
Ralph White, Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars, New York: Doubleday, 1970, Chs. 7, 10.
Robert D. Nye, Conflict Among Humans, New York: Springer Publ. Co., 1973 (all).

Recommended

Ross Stagner, Psychological Aspects of International Conflict, Monterey, Ca.: Brooks/Cole Division, Wadsworth Publ. Co., 1967.
L. Berkowitz, Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
Fried, Harris and Murphy, War.
L. Bramson and G. Goethals, War: Studies From Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology, New York: Basic Books, 1968.
M. Deutsch, The Resolution of Conflict.
T. Wiegele, "Towards a Psychophysiological Variable in Conflict Theory," Experimental Study of Politics, 1, 1971.

2. The Ethology and Anthropology of Conflict

Minimum Reading

Alcock, The War Disease, Chs. 3,4.

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, Ch. 7 (if not already read).

Steven Nelson, "Nature/Nurture Revisited I: A Review of the Biological Bases of Conflict," J. Conflict Resolution, 18, 1974, pp. 285-335.

Nikko Tinbergen, "On War and Peace in Animal and Man, an Ethologist's Approach to the Biology of Aggression," Science, 160, 1968, p. 1411.

Margaret Mead, "Warfare Is Only an Invention--Not a Biological Necessity," in Beitz and Herman, Peace and War.

Recommended

Ashley Montagu, Man and Aggression, Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1973 (very useful critique of Lorenz, Ardrey, Morris).

K. Lorenz, On Aggression, New York: Bantam, 1970.

R. Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative, New York: Atheneum, 1966.

D. Morris, The Naked Ape: The Human Zoo, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

Selected parts of Bramson and Goethals; of Fried, Harris and Murphy.

M. N. Walsh, War and the Human Race, New York: Elsevier, 1971.

R. LeVine, "Anthropology and the Study of Conflict: An Introduction," J. Conflict Resolution, 5, 1961.

B. The 'Second Image': Domestic Aspects of the Nation State

1. Social Correlates of Conflict

Minimum Reading

Waltz, Man, the State and War, Chs. 4, 5.

Rapoport, Fights, Games, Debates, Ch. 3.

Leonard Lewin, Report from Iron Mountain, New York: Dell, 1969 (all).

Two of the following:

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, Ch. 8.

Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Aggression," J. Peace Research, 1964:2, pp. 95-119.

Michael Haas, "Societal Approaches to the Study of War," J. Peace Research, 1965:4, 307-323.

Look through some of the following:

James N. Rosenau, "Theorizing Across Systems: Linkage Politics Revisited," in Jonathan Wilkenfeld, ed., Conflict Behavior and Linkage Politics, New York: McKay, 1973.
M. Pilisuk and T. Hayden, "Is There a Military-Industrial Complex That Prevents Peace?" in Beitz and Herman, Peace and War.
Roy Prosterman, Surviving to 3000: Introduction to the Study of Lethal Conflict, N. Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1972, Ch. 3.
Wright, A Study of War (unabridged), Chs. 22, 24, 27, 28.

Recommended

J. D. Singer, Quantitative International Politics, New York: Free Press, 1968, articles by M. Haas; R. Rummel.
B. M. Russett, Peace, War and Numbers, articles by Wilkenfeld, Russett.
F. C. Ikle, Every War Must End, Chs. 4, 5.
T. R. Gurr, Why Men Rebel, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, Chs. 1, 2, 6.
H. Tolley, Children and War: Political Socialization to International Conflict, New York: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University, 1973.
J. C. Davies, "Toward A Theory of Revolution," Amer. Sociological Review, 27, 1962.
M. Midlarsky and R. Tanter, "A Theory of Revolution," J. Conflict and Resolution, 11, 1967.
"Comments on Report From Iron Mountain," pp. 55-83, in K. Boulding, ed., Peace and the War Industry, Edison, N.J.: Transaction, 1973.
J. N. Rosenau, Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, New York: Free Press, 1967.
Richard Barnet, The Economy of Death; The Roots of War, New York: Penguin, 1973.

2. Domestic and International Conflict

Minimum Reading

J. Wilkenfeld, "Domestic and Foreign Conflict," in J. Wilkenfeld, Conflict Behavior and Linkage Politics.
R. Rummel, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations," p. 49, in J. Gillespie and B. Nesvold, Macro-Quantitative Analysis: Conflict, Development & Democratization, Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage, 1971.

R. Tanter, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior Within and Between Nations, 1958-60," in Gillespie and Nesvold.

Adelphi Paper #83, "Civil Violence and the International System, Part II" (look at all three articles).

Also: Read at least one other article each from Wilkenfeld, Conflict Behavior and Linkage Politics; and Gillespie and Nesvold, Macro-Quantitative Analysis, Part II.

Recommended

J. N. Rosenau & K. Knorr, eds., International Aspects of Domestic Strife, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.

R. J. Rummel, The Dimensions of Nations, Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage, 1972.

C. The 'Third Image': The International Environment

1. Possibilities and Probabilities: Polarity and Alliance

Minimum Reading

Waltz, Man, the State and War, Chs. 6, 7, 8.

Alcock, War Disease, Chs. 12, 13.

Michael Haas, "International Subsystems: Stability and Polarity," American Political Science Review, 64, 1970, pp. 98-103.

J. D. Singer and M. Small, "Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of War," in J. D. Singer, Quantitative International Politics.

M. Wallace, "Alliance Polarization, Cross-Cutting and International War, 1815-1964 ...," J. Conflict Resolution, 17, 1973, pp. 575-604.

Also On Reserve

J. N. Rosenau, International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York: Free Press, 1961, articles by Kaplan; Rosecrance; Deutsch and Singer.

D. A. Zinnes, "An Analytical Study of Balance of Power Theories," J. Peace Research, 1967:3, pp. 270-287,

J. Friedman, C. Bladen, S. Rosen, Alliance in International Politics, articles by Rosen; Singer and Small.

Recommended

T. Caplow, Two Against One.

Friedman, Bladen and Rosen (rest).
R. Rosecrance, Action and Reaction in World Politics.
R. Rosecrance, ed., The Future of the International Strategic System, San Francisco: Chandler, 1972.
Morton Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics.

2. Trigger Events: Action-Reaction, Arms Races, Game Theory

Minimum Reading

Rapoport, Fights, Games and Debates, Chs. 1, 2; Part II.
Alcock, War Disease, Chs. 6, 11.
Samuel Huntington, "Arms Races: Prerequisites and Results," in R. Art and K. Waltz, eds., The Use of Force, Waltham, Mass.: Little, 1971.
Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966, Ch. 6.
Glenn Snyder, "'Prisoner's Dilemma' and 'Chicken' Models in International Politics," International Studies Quarterly, 15, 1971.

Recommended

Richardson, Arms and Insecurity, Chs. 1, 5, 6, 7.
Rapoport, Strategy and Conscience, New York: Harper, 1964.
P. Greene, Deadly Logic: The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1966.
B. Tuchman, The Guns of August, Riverside, N.J.: Macmillan, 1962.
P. Swingle, Structure of Conflict, Campbell, Ca.: Academy Press, 1970.
Russett, What Price Vigilance, The Burdens of National Defense, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970.
T. Schelling, Strategy of Conflict, Boston: Harvard University Press, 1970.
C. Gray, "The Urge to Compete: Rationales for Arms Racing," World Politics, 26, 1974.
J. Milstein and W. Mitchell, "Computer Simulation of International Processes: The Vietnam War and the Pre-World War I Naval Race," Peace Research Society, Papers, vol. XII, 1970.
R. North, R. Brody and O. Holsti, "Some Empirical Data on the Conflict Spiral," Peace Research Society, Papers, vol. V, 1964.

III. INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

A. Control and Resolution: Interactions of Bargaining, Arms Control, etc.

Minimum Reading

Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners, New York: Harper and Row, 1969 (all).

Read at least 2-3 of the following:

M. Deutsch, Resolution of Conflict, final chapter.
R. Fisher, "Fractionating Conflict," in R. Fisher International Conflict and Behavioral Science, New York: Basic Books, 1964.
James E. Dougherty, How to Think About Arms Control and Disarmament, Chs. 2, 3 (skim 8, 9, 10).
Charles Osgood, "Calculated De-Escalation as a Strategy," in Pruitt and Snyder, Theories and Research on the Causes of War.
Herbert York, "A Little Arms Control Can Be a Dangerous Thing," in Beitz and Herman, Peace and War.
K. J. Holsti, "Resolving International Conflicts: A Taxonomy of Behavior and Some Figures on Procedures," J. Conflict Resolution, 10, 1966.
John Burton, "Resolution of Conflict," International Studies Quarterly, 16, 1972.
Amitai Etzioni, "The Kennedy Experiment," Western Political Quarterly, 20, 1967.

Recommended

J. Burton, Conflict and Communication, New York: Macmillan, 1969.
R. Fisher, Dear Arabs, Dear Israelis, New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
C. Osgood, An Alternative to War or Surrender, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1962.
H. York, ed., Arms Control, San Francisco, Ca.: W. H. Freeman, 1973.
T. Hoppman article in Russett, Peace War and Numbers.
Doob, Foltz, and Stevens, Resolving Conflict in Africa: The Fermeda Workshop, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.
L. Doob and W. Foltz, "The Belfast Workshop," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 17, 1973.
Wright, A Study of War (unabridged), Chs. 38, 46.

B. Control and Resolution: Creating a 'Better' System

Minimum Reading

Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet: Constructing Alternative World Futures, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1974 (all).
B. Reardon and S. Mendlovitz, "World Law and Models of World Order," in Beitz and Herman, Peace and War.
G. Clark, "Introduction to World Peace Through World Law," in Beitz and Herman.

Also On Reserve

Choucri article in Russett, Peace, War and Numbers.
Prosterman, Surviving to 3000, Ch. 8.

Recommended

R. Falk and S. Mendlovitz, The Strategy of World Order, New York: Institute for World Order, 1966.
G. Clark and L. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law: Two Alternative Plans (3rd revised ed.), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.
I. Claude, Swords Into Plowshares, Westminster, Md.: Random House, 1971.
J. Galtung, "Institutionalized Conflict Resolution," J. Peace Research, 1965.
H. Newcombe, "Alternative Approaches to World Government," Peace Research Reviews, vol. 5, no. 3, 1974.
E. Haas, R. Butterworth, J. Nye, Management of Conflict by International Organizations.

Other Materials (not listed on the syllabus) of Relevance:

Edward Azar, Probe for Peace: Small State Hostilities, Burgess Publ., 1973.
John Garnett, ed., Theories of Peace and Security, New York: St. Martin's, 1970.
Michael Haas, International Conflict, Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974.
Elton McNeil, ed., The Nature of Human Conflict, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

The Moment of Truth

In seminars and arenas
The difference between
Being bored and being gored
Is the quality of the bull

J. A. Perkins

Bibliographic Note

A number of bibliographies have appeared within recent years. Perhaps the least recent is that of Charles H. Gray, Leslie B. Gray, and Glenn W. Gregory, *A Bibliography of Peace Research, Indexed by Key Words* (Eugene, Oregon: General Research Analysis Methods, 1968). This lengthy work was followed by perhaps the most well known of peace research bibliographies, that of Robert Pickus and Robert Woito, *To End War, An Introduction to the Ideas, Books, Organizations and Works* (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1970). Dealing with over 600 books this work goes beyond the key word index, and is annotated. A slightly earlier, but less well known, book which is in essence an annotated bibliography with over 600 referenced items is Hanna and Alan Newcombe, *Peace Research Around the World* (Oakville, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Institute Press, 1969). In 1974 two new bibliographies appeared: Lalit K. Aggarawal, *Peace Research: A Bibliography* (Department of Peace Science, University of Pennsylvania), with approximately 600 entries; and Elise Boulding and J. Robert Passmore, *Bibliography on World Conflict and Peace* (Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado), with over 700 entries.

In addition, there is Norman Z. Alcock's survey of the empirical research on war, *The War Disease* (Oakville, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Institute Press, 1972). For the study of war the student can use not only Alcock's references, but also the combined references found in Bruce M. Russett, ed., *Peace, War and Numbers* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), as well as the references listed after the set of introductory essays in Dean G. Pruitt and Richard C. Snyder, eds., *Theory and Research on the Causes of War* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969). Finally, for a slightly different perspective, there is Kurt Lang, *Military Institutions and the Sociology of War* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), whose bibliography to the chapter on "War and Warfare" contains over 300 items.

PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE
University Studies 211

Hunt Terrell
Carolyn Stevenson
William Wylie (Peace Intern)
Fall, 1977
M, T, Th, F

University Studies
Colgate University
Hamilton, NY

Basic Test: Charles Beitz and Theodore Herman, eds., Peace and War, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973 (hereafter referred to as PW).

War as a Moral Question

Sept. 5 Introduction to the Course
6 Potter, "The Moral Logic of War," PW, 7-16.
Film in class: "Hiroshima/Nagasaki"
8 Introduction, "The Morality of War," PW, 3-6.
Reread Potter, "The Moral Logic of War,", PW, 7-16.
9 Horsburgh, "Critique of Armed Force," PW, 17-30.

11 Film: "The Battle of Algiers"
12 Dedijer, "Guerilla Warfare: The Poor Man's Power," PW, 41-49.
Rerun of film: "The Battle of Algiers"
13 Open

War, Violence, and Human Nature

15 Introduction, "War as an Expression of Human Nature," PW, 109-111.
Mead, "Warfare Is Only an Invention," PW, 112-118.
Grundy, "The Causes of Political Violence," PW, 50-55.
16 Corning, "Human Violence: Some Causes and Implications," PW, 119-130.
19 Niebuhr, "The Morality of Nations," Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics. (New York, 1932), ch. 4.
20 Kissinger, "The Problems of Limited War," PW, 98-108.

The Cold War and the War in Indochina

22 Hoffman and Fleron, "The Origins of the Cold War," The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy. (Chicago, 1971), 213-216.

Graebner, "Cold War Origins and the Continuing Debate," in Erik P. Hoffman and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., eds., The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy. (Chicago, 1971), 217-227 reduced.
23 Examination #1

26 A. Rapoport, "Perceiving the Cold War," Conflict in a Man Made Environment. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1974).
27 Kolko, "Vietnam and the Future of U.S. Foreign Policy," Liberation. (May, 1973), Vo.. 17, No. 9, 8-17 reduced.
28 Film: "Hearts and Minds"
29 Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, "Pax Americana: Economic," The Indochina Story. (New York, 1970), ch. 31.
30 Crichton, "Our Air War," The New York Review. (Jan. 4, 1968), 3-5, Vol. 9, No. 12.
Brindley, "The Legacy of Poison," Far Eastern Economic Review. (March 5, 1973).
Slides: "The Automated Battlefield"

Oct. 3 Introduction, "War & Deterrence as Instruments of Diplomacy," PW, 69-73.
Schelling, "The Diplomacy of Violence," PW, 74-90.
4 McNamara, "Mutual Deterrence," PW, 91-97.
Fromm, "Paranoia and Policy," New York Times. (Dec. 11, 1975).
Yanarella, "The Technological Imperative," Peace and Change. 3.1 (Spring, 1977), 3-16.
6 Bohn, "Is Nuclear Deterrence Really Necessary?" War/Peace Report. 12.1 (Nov.-Dec. 1972), 3-9.
7 Barnet, "The Illusion of Security," PW, 275-287.

10 York, "A Little Arms Control Can Be a Dangerous Thing," PW, 257-264.
Ruina, "SALT is a MAD World," New York Times Magazine. (June 30, 1974).
11 Dumas, "Thirty Years of the Arms Race," Peace and Change. 4.2 (Spring, 1977), 3-9.
13 Paper Due
14 Mid-Term Recess

17 Yergin, "The Terrifying Prospect: Atomic Bombs Everywhere," Atlantic Monthly. Vol. 239, No. 4, (Apr. 1977), 47 ff.
Myrdal, "The High Price of Nuclear Arms Monopoly," Foreign Policy. 18 (Spring 1975), 30-43.
18 Laqueur, "Perils of Detente," New York Times Magazine. (Feb. 27, 1977).
20 Barnet, "Promise of Disarmament," New York Times Magazine. (Feb. 27, 1977).

Smith, "Negotiating with the Soviets," New York Times Magazine. (Feb. 27, 1977).

Recommended: Johansen, "The Disarmament Process: Where to Begin." (New York: Institute for World Order, 1977).

21 Examination #2

24 Introduction, "Domestic Change and World Peace," PW, 270-274.
Pilisuk & Hayden, "Is There a Military-Industrial Complex that Prevents Peace?" PW, 288-301.

25 Klare, "War Without End." Introduction.
Magdoff, "Militarism and Imperialism," Monthly Review. (Feb. 1970).
Perlo, "Comment on Magdoff," American Economic Review. 60.2 (May 1970), 244-245.

27 Burns, "The Defense Sector," PW, 316-322.
Melman, "Ten Propositions on the War Economy," American Economic Review. 62.2 (May 1972), 312-318.

28 Finney, "Arms Sales, a Real Growth Industry," New York Times Magazine. (Jan. 26, 1975).
Finney, "U.S. Arms to the Persian Gulf," The Defense Monitor. 4.3 (May 1975), 1-8.
Slides: "Guns or Butter"

31 Galbraith, "Controlling the Military," PW, 333-340.
Pilisuk & Hayden, PW, 301-310.

Reforming the Nation-State System

Nov. 1 Introduction, "Reforming the Nation-State System," PW, 212-218.
Halle, "Does War Have a Future?" Foreign Affairs. Vol. 52, No. 1, (Oct. 1973), 20-34.

3 Herz, "The Territorial State Revisited," Polity. 1.1 (Fall 1968), 11-34.

4 Mitrany, "The Functional Alternative," PW, 218-227.

7 Excerpts from the Charter of the United Nations, PW, 265-269.
Stanford, "The U.N. as Peacemaker and Peacekeeper," Peacemaking. (New York, 1976), 350-356.
Hollister, "World Organization and Peace," Norval Hadley, ed., New Call to Peacemaking. (Philadelphia, 1976).

8 Cleveland, "The U.S. vs. the U.N.," New York Times Magazine. (May 4, 1975).
Recommended: UNA-USA, "Controlling Conflicts in the 1970's," PW, 242-256.

10 Introduction, "World Government," PW, 147-151.
Reardon & Mendlovitz, "World Law and Models of World Order," PW, 152-161.

11 Clark, "Introduction to World Peace Through World Law," PW, 162-180.

14 Claude, "World Government," PW, 188-211.

15 Reves, "The Anatomy of Peace," The Anatomy of Peace. (New York, 1945, 1963), 129-144.
Clark, "Introduction to World Peace Through World Law," PW, 181-187.

Civilian Defense and Nonviolence

17 Introduction, "Civilian Defense and Nonviolence," PW, 341-344.
Ghandi, "On Nonviolence," PW, 345-348.
Horsburgh, "The Bases of Satyagraha," Non-Violence and Aggression. (Oxford, 1968), 27-40.
Film: "Ghandi"
18 Deming, "Nonviolence and Casualties," PW, 375-377.
Deming, "Pacifism," Win. (May 1, 1971), 6-10.

21 Open
22 Examination #3
23 Thanksgiving Holiday

28 Sharp, "National Defense Without Armaments," PW, 349-367.
Schelling, "Some Questions on Civilian Defense," PW, 368-374.

Individual Action and Social Change

1 "Vocations for Social Change," Vocations for Social Change. (Jan.-Feb. 1972), 4-5.
Beitz & Washburn, "On Choosing a Social Change Vocation," Creating the Future. (New York, 1974), 29-37.
Wehr & Washburn, "Working for Peace and Justice," Peace and World Order Systems. (Sage Publications: Beverly Hills, Calif., 1976), 101-117.
2 Walzer, "Strategic Choices," PW, 401-404.
Murphy, "Student Power in the 1970 Elections...," PW, 405-414.

5 Berrigan, "The Price of Peace," No Bars to Manhood. (Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1970), 57-58.
Carroll, Lakey, et al., "Organizing for Social Transformation," PW, 415-424.
Beitz & Washburn, "Questions to Ask Yourself" and "Questions to Ask Others in Social Change Work," Creating the Future. (New York, 1974), 23-24.

SOCIOLOGY OF PEACEMAKING
Sociology 482

Paul Wehr
Fall, 1975
T, Th, 11-12:15

Department of Sociology
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

Required Texts:

David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest, New York: Random House, 1972.

Seymour Melman, Pentagon Capitalism: The Political Economy of War, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack, War Without Weapons, New York: Schocken, 1975.

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

Sept. 4	Defining Peace and Non-Peace	
Sept. 9	Transforming Institutions and Values Formation of Research Groups	Wehr, "The Transformative Focus of Peace & World Order Studies."

II. SOME INSTITUTIONAL DETERMINANTS OF WAR

Sept. 11	Vietnam in Retrospect Past-Imaging Assignment Distributed	Halberstam, The Best & the Brightest, Chs. 1-10.
Sept. 16	Research Group Meetings: Vietnam Policy Determinants	Halberstam, Chs. 11-23
Sept. 18	Vietnam in Retrospect (Cont.) Research Group Reports	Halberstam, Ch. 24 Epilogue
Sept. 23	Research Group Meetings: Past-Imaging Exercise	
Sept. 25	The Military-Industrial-Political Complex Past-Imaging Exercise Due	Melman, Pentagon Capitalism, Chs. 1-7
Sept. 30	Research Group Meetings: Identifying Resources for Term Projects	Colin Gray, "The Arms Phenomenon

Oct. 2	Problems and Prospects of Arms Control (Professor Bernard Udis)	Morton Halperin, "The Good, the Bad, and the Wasteful."
Oct. 7	Research Group Meetings: Term Project	International Peace Research Assn. (IPRA), "Between Peace & War: The Quest for Disarmament."
Oct. 9	The Consequences of Nuclear War 1) Film - Hiroshima/Nagasaki 2) Bomb Shelter Exercise	Dentler & Cartwright, "War, Aftermath and Recovery.
Oct. 14	Research Group Meeting: Term Project	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), "Nuclear Disarmament or Nuclear War."
Oct. 16	Nuclear Proliferation: International and Domestic Implications	SIPRI, "Preventing Nuclear Weapon Proliferation." Wehr, "Testimony Presented Before the Lamn/Wirth Task Force."
Oct. 17	Potluck Supper at Paul Wehr's home Film: "A Plague on Your Children"	
Oct. 21	Research Group Meetings: Term Project	Action Research Group, "Impact of Nuclear and CBW Installations on East-Central Colorado," in P. Wehr and M. Washburn, Peace and World Order Systems. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976, pp. 219.
Oct. 23	Multinational Corporations: The Ambiguous Actor	R. Barnet & R. Muller, Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974, Chs. 1, 2, 4.

Oct. 28	Research Group Meetings: Term Project	Barnet & Muller, Global Reach, Chs. 6, 10, 13.
Oct. 30	The Transnational Arms Business: Middle East	"The Arms Dealers: Guns for All," Time, 3 March 1975, pp. 34-44.

III. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PEACEMAKING

Nov. 4	Development of Peacemaking Technology: The Middle East Integrative Essay Assigned Due November 20	American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Search for Peace in the Middle East, Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1970, or Rikhye, et al., The Thin Blue Line, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974, pp. 47-70 & 309-339.
Nov. 6	Alternatives to Military Defense: The Theory	Boserup and Mack, War Without Weapons, pp. 7-91.
Nov. 11	Alternatives to Military Defense: The Practice	Boserup and Mack, pp. 92-147.
Nov. 13	Altering the Structure of the World Consciousness (Professor Francis Beer)	
Nov. 18	Final Research Group Meetings: Preparation for Class Reports	
Nov. 20	The Citizen's Role in Peacemaking Integrative Essay Due	C. Alger, "Foreign Policies of United States Publics," Columbus: Mershon Center, Ohio State University, 1975 (mimeo).
Nov. 25	Education and Action: Sensitizing the Public to Peace Issues (Pam Solo and Judy Danielson of the Peace Education Project)	

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND ACTION STRATEGIES

Dec. 2 Group I Report: The Weapons Problem

Dec. 4 Group II Report: Middle East Conflict Resolution

Dec. 9 Group III Report: The Multinational Corporation

Dec. 11 Group IV Report: Creating Transnational Awareness and Networks
Term Projects Due

WORKING GROUP TOPICS

GROUP I - The Weapons Problem (arms trade, nuclear proliferation, disarmament and arms control, nuclear and CBW pollution).

GROUP II - Middle East Peacemaking (disengagement, Geneva conference, arms control, oil politics and diplomacy, Palestinian refugee problem, negotiation strategies).

GROUP III - The Impact of Multinational Corporations (Congressional investigation, modes of operation, interaction with national foreign policies, positive and negative impact).

GROUP IV - Alternative Networks and Institutions (non-governmental associations, communication networks, international law, global culture and values, civilian defense).

RESEARCH GROUPS

The Research Groups are formed for several purposes:

1. To provide a small group working and sharing experience in the course
2. To produce a document or other product that could directly contribute to the peacemaking process
3. To assist in evaluating a student's performance in the course

Some specific questions the groups should address:

1. Who are we as individuals and how have our individual and family backgrounds been influenced by war and violence?
2. What is the nature of the problem our group is to work on? What sort of project would best contribute to its solution?
3. What resources are available for learning about the problem and recommending a solution?
4. How can citizens act upon the problem and what policy recommendations can we make?

C. SOCIAL/POLITICAL JUSTICE

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY

Faculty Sponsor: David Baldwin
Student Initiator: Michael Zischke
Spring, 1977

Student-Initiated Seminar 1
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Purpose of the Course

This course will focus on human rights problems as international issues. The first portion of the course will consist of a conceptual discussion of human rights, followed by an investigation of the role human rights issues play in the international system. The issues set forth in the first part of the course will then be considered with special attention to various case studies. The course will conclude with the writing and presentation of student research papers on human rights issues.

It is hoped that the atmosphere of the class will be one in which ideas flow among the participating professors and students, rather than from one to the other. The fulfillment of this hope relies on a high degree of participation and commitment by the students.

Course Requirements

1. Each student is expected to come to class prepared to discuss in depth all assigned reading for that day. All students are expected to make a significant contribution to class discussion.

2. Each student will write a substantial research paper, approximately 30 pages in length. Specific topics should be selected and discussed with Professor Baldwin by the fourth week of the term (April 22) at the very latest.

Rough drafts of these papers will be presented to the entire class for discussion and critique during the eighth and ninth week of the term (May 16-26). These drafts should be typed on ditto-masters and run off in advance, so that a copy may be given to each student at least two days prior to the class in which the paper will be presented. As this process takes some time, you should plan ahead!

After receiving the critiques of their papers, each student will write a final draft which must be given to Professor Baldwin by June 5.

3. Each student is expected to write a one-page critique of each paper presented to the class. This critique should be ready to present to the paper's author on the day of the presentation.

Grading

The grades for the course, which will be determined by Professor Baldwin, will be arrived at according to the following schedule:

Final Research Paper	70%
Class Presentation	20%
Class Participation	10%

Required Books

The following books will be used extensively in the course:

Amnesty International, Report on Torture.
Vernon Van Dyke, Human Rights, the United States, and World Community.
Francis Vallat, ed., An Introduction to the Study of Human Rights.
United Nations, Human Rights: A Compliation of International Instruments of the United Nations.

Recommended Books

Substantial portions of the following books will be used in the course.

John Carey, UN Protection of Civil and Political Rights.
Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man.
John Rawls, A Theory of Justice.

COURSE OUTLINE

I. Introductory and Organizational Session

March 28

II. Conceptual Issues: The Definition of Human Rights

March 31 "The Historical Development of the Western Concept of Human Rights"
Professor Arthur Wilson
(Government Department)

Readings:
Arthur Wilson, "Self-Evident Truths" (handout).
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (handout).
Declaration of Independence (handout).
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in UN Compilation, pp. 1-3.
John Locke, Second Treatise on Civil Government.
Thomas Paine, The Rights of Man.
Vallat, pp. 1-30.

April 5 "A Justification of Natural Rights"
Professor Ronald M. Green
(Religion Department)

Readings:
John Rawls, A Theory of Justice, pp. 3-22, 60-257 (Sections 1-4 of Chapter I, pp. 11-19 of Chapter II, and all of Chapters III and IV).

April 7 The Conceptual Debate: Challenges to the Concept of Human Rights

Readings:
Van Dyke, pp. 3-104.
Vallat, pp. 41-82.
Jozsef Halasz, ed., Socialist Concept of Human Rights, pp. 7-74.
D. D. Raphael, Political Theory and the Rights of Man, pp. 43-67, 95-100.
Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," in Wolff, Moore, and Marcuse, A Critique of Pure Tolerance, pp. 81-123.

III. Human Rights and the International System

April 11 "Human Rights, International Law, and the United Nations"
Professor Donald McNemar
(Government Department)

Readings:
Amnesty International, Torture, pp. 70-113.
Van Dyke, pp. 159-254.
Vallat, pp. 83-98.
UN Compilation, pp. 3-17 (Human Rights Covenants).
Socialist Concept of Human Rights, pp. 267-305.

Optional:
Carey, UN Protection, pp. 143-176.

April 14 United States Foreign Policy and Human Rights

Readings:
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Necessary Amorality of Foreign Affairs."
William P. Bundy, "Dictatorships and American Foreign Policy," in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Oct. 1975), pp. 51-60.
Van Dyke, pp. 105-158.
Vallat, pp. 99-115.
Nat Hentoff, "Vietnam 1977: Is It Any of Our Business?" (handout)
Statement of Arthur Hummel and Edwin Reischauer, in *Human Rights and South Korea: Implications for US Foreign Policy* (Hearings), pp. 9-16, 50-54.

IV. Case Studies in Human Rights

April 18 The Issue of Torture

Readings:
Amnesty International, *Torture*, pp. 14-38, 240-42.
Skeptic Magazine (Jan./Feb. 1977), pp. 14-23, 30-33, 57-61 (Buchanan, Clark, and Sisco vs. Morris articles).
James Farrar, *Crimes and Punishments*, pp. 148-157.
Henry Lea, *Superstition and Force*, pp. 511-524.
William O'Brien, *War and/or Survival*, pp. 217-236.

April 21 "The United States and the Jewish Problem. 1938-1939"
Professor Ian Lustick
(Government Department)

Readings:
Arthur Morse, *While Six Million Died*.
Henry Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue*.
(exact pages to be determined)

April 22 Deadline for Selection of Paper Topics

April 25 "Human Rights in Revolutionary and Reactionary Contexts: Mozambique and South Africa"
Professor Leo Spitzer
(History Department)

Readings:
To be determined.

April 28 "The Extreme Case: Human Rights in Uganda"
Professor Nelson Kasfir
(Government Department)

Readings:
To be determined.

May 2 "Latin America: The Erosion of Human Rights in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil"
Professor Maryssa Navarro
(History Department)

Readings:
To be determined.

May 5 "Human Rights in India"
Professor Howard Erdman
(Government Department)

Readings:
To be determined.

V. Presentation of Student Papers

May 9	Writing Period: No Class
May 12	Writing Period: No Class
May 16	Presentation of Student Papers
May 19	Presentation of Student Papers
May 23	Presentation of Student Papers
May 26	Presentation of Student Papers
May 31	Writing Period: No Class
June 2	Writing Period: No Class
June 5	Due Date for Final Drafts of Student Papers

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION: HUMAN RIGHTS

Mab Huang
Warren Weinstein
Fall, 1976

Political Science
State University
of New York at Oswego
Oswego, NY

TEXT BOOK: Van Dyke, Vernon, *Human Rights, The United States and World Community*. Oxford University Press, 1970.

1. The Scope of International Human Rights, text, pp. 1-102.

2. Development of International Response to Human Rights.
   Readings:
   Luard, H., "The Origins of International Concern over Human Rights," in Luard, ed., *International Protection of Human Rights*, N.Y.: Praeger, 1967.
   Humphrey, J. P., "The UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," in *Israel Year Book of International Law*, 1974.
   United Nations, *Human Rights: A Compilation of Internaternational Instruments*, pp. 1-55 (on reserve).

3. The Liberal Theory of Freedom and Human Rights
   Readings:
   Macpherson, C. B., *Natural Rights in Hobbes & Locke*.
   Chapman, J. W., *Natural Rights and Justice in Liberalism*.
   Raphael, D. D., "Human Rights, New and Old," in Raphael, ed., *Political Theory and the Rights of Man*, Indiana University Press, 1967.

4. The Marxist Theory of Freedom and Human Rights
   Readings:
   Berlin, Isaiah, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in Berlin, I., *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford University Press, 1969.
   Adler, M. J., *The Idea of Freedom*. N.Y.: Doubelday, 1958, Chap. 19, "Collective Freedom...".

5. Third World Dilemma of Human Rights
   Readings:
   Emerson, Rupert, "The Fate of Human Rights in the Third World," *World Politics*, XXVII, 2, January 1975.

6. Human Rights and Foreign Aid: Can We Factor Human Rights into Development.

7. UN Machinery for Dealing with Human Rights
   Readings:
   International Protection of Human Rights, Hearings. Washington, 1973, pp. 1-29, 249-389, 353-394, 612-628, 708-722, 751-756, 774-778, 809 (on reserve).
   Hoare, Samuel, "The UN Commission on Human Rights," in Luard, ed., International Protection of Human Rights, N.Y.: Praeger, 1967.

   How Well Is the UN Machinery Working?
   Readings:
   International Protection of Human Rights, Hearings.
   Humphrey, J., "The International Law of Human Rights in the Middle of the Twentieth Century," in Present State of International Law and Other Essays.

8. Prospects for International Human Rights?
   Readings:
   International Protection of Human Rights, Hearings. pp. 220-289, 479-530.

9-14. Student Presentations: Case Studies:
   1) India - political freedom
   2) Chile - torture
   3) Uganda - minority rights
   4) U.S.S.R. - political dissent, minority
   5) U.S.A. - Attica

GRADES:

40% Test: Essay Questions & Short Answer (6th Week), 2 hrs.

20% Quiz: Essay (8th Week), 1 hr.

10% Quiz: Short Answer Questions (9th Week), 20 min.

30% Position Paper (5 typed pages) and Debate (9th-14th Week).

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND STRATIFICATION
Sociology 675

Louis Kriesberg
Spring, 1977

Department of Sociology
Syracuse University
Syracuse, NY

BASIC READINGS

J. Lopresto and L. S. Lewis, eds., Social Stratification. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1974.

J. Cockcroft, A. G. Frank, and D. L. Johnson, Dependence and Underdevelopment. N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1972.

Frank Parkin, Class, Inequality and Political Order. N.Y.: Praeger, 1971.

L. Kriesberg, Change and Persistance of Social Inequalities, unpublished draft chapters.

OUTLINE

1. Introduction
   Sociological Study of Stratification; Values; Dimensions of Inequality

   Kriesberg, Chapters 1 and 2.
   Parkin, Chapter 1.

2. Class Inequalities in the U.S. and the World

   Kriesberg, Chapters 3 and 4.
   Glenn, "Income Inequality in the U.S.," in Lopresto and Lewis, pp. 391-398.
   D. Johnson, "On Oppressed Classes," in Cockcroft, Frank, and Johnson.

3. Status Inequalities in the U.S. and the World

   Kriesberg, Chapters 5 and 6.
   Lopresto and Lewis, Parts VI and VII.

   Supplementary:
   E. Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development.
   Coxon and Joies, Social Mobility. N.Y.: Penguin, 1975.

4. Power Inequalities in the U.S. and the World

Kriesberg, Chapters 7 and 8.
Lopresto and Lewis, Part V.

5. Individual and Collective Reactions to Inequality

Kriesberg, Chapter 9.
Lopresto and Lewis, Parts III and IV.
Cockcroft, "Venezuela: Class Stratification and Revolution," in Cockcroft, Frank and Johnson, pp. 151-163.

Supplementary:
Kriesberg, Mothers in Poverty. N.Y.: Aldine, 1970.
Collins, Conflict Sociology. N.Y.: Academic Press, 1975, Chapter 2.

6. Theories Explaining Inequalities

Lopresto and Lewis, Parts I and II.
Parsons, "Equality and Inequality in Modern Society," in E. Lauman, ed., Social Stratification. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
R. Collins, Conflict Sociology, Chapter 8.
Frank, "Economic Dependence, Class Structure and Underdevelopment Policy," in Cockcroft, Frank, and Johnson.

7. Testing Theories of Inequality

Parkin.
R. Jackman, "Political Democracy and Social Equality," American Sociological Review, Feb. 1974.
G. Lenski, Power and Privilege. N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1966, Chapter 15.

Supplementary:
R. Jackman, Politics and Social Equality. N.Y.: Wiley, 1975.
G. Lenski, Power and Privilege.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS: PROBLEMS OF LAW AND POLICY

Richard B. Lillich
Spring, 1978

School of Law
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA

This course is based upon a series of human rights problems presented in Richard B. Lillich & Frank C. Newman, International Human Rights: Problems of Law and Policy. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1978.

Problem I:	Are Nations Bound by the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter (Alleged Spies in Iraq)?
Problem II:	Are Nations' Courts and Other Tribunals Bound by the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter (The Fujii Era)?
Problem III:	What Exactly Do the Human Rights Clauses of the UN Charter -- or UN Resolutions or Model Rules -- Require (Confinement in the U.S. and U.S.S.R.)?
Problem IV:	What Do the Clauses of UN Human Rights Treaties Other Than the UN Charter Require (Treaty Law and the UN Treaty on Racial Discrimination)?
Problem V:	How Does the UN React to Violations of Human Rights Law (The Chile Case in the UN)?
Problem VI:	When Do Individuals and NGOs Have Status to Protest Violations of Human Rights Law in the UN (The Greek Case and the Right to Petition Under Resolution 1503)?
Problem VII:	How Effective in Causing Compliance with Human Rights Law are Coercive Measures That Do Not Involve the Use of Armed Force (Sanctions and Southern Africa)?
Problem VIII:	Is the Use of Armed Force by the UN or Member Nations Legal if Invoked to Cause Compliance With Human Rights Law (Bangladesh)?

Problem IX: Can Regional Arrangements to Protect Human Rights Be More Effective Than UN Arrangements (The Golder Case and Ireland v. United Kingdom)?

Problem X: Can the Criminal Process Be Used to Help Enforce Human Rights Law (Genocide, Apartheid, Terrorism and Torture)?

Problem XI: Do the Conventions Governing the Law of Armed Conflict Effectively Protect Human Rights (Lt. Calley, Capt. Medina and the late Gen. Yamashita)?

Problem XII: How Relevant Is Human Rights Law to the Foreign Policy Process (The Carter Administration's Human Rights Initiatives)?

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Jaroslav Tusek
Fall, 1976

Interdisciplinary
Branford College
Yale University
New Haven, CT

TOPIC OUTLINE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

1. The Role of International Organizations in World Affairs

Richard Gardner, In Pursuit of World Order; U.S. Foreign Policy and International Organizations (Revised Edition). N.Y.: Praeger, 1966, pp. 3-84 and 238-264.

For later exploration:
G. Mangone, A Short History of International Organization. Westport, CT.: Greenwood, 1975 (Reprint of 1954 ed.).
Singer and Wallace, "Intergovernmental Organization in the Global System, 1815-1964," International Organization, Spring, 1970.

2. International Organizations and Peace

David Mitrany, A Working Peace System. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966.
A. Etzioni, The Hard Way to Peace: A New Strategy. N.Y.: Collier Books, 1962, pp. 173-202.

For later exploration:
O. Nathan and H. Norden, eds., Einstein on Peace. London: Methuen, 1963.
F. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

3. What Is "Peace Research?"

Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research," Journal of Peace Research, vol. VI, no. 3, 1969, pp. 189-192.
Inis Claude, Swords Into Plowshares: The Problems of Progress of International Relations. N.Y.: Random House, 1971.

For later exploration:
Bruce M. Russett, "From Peace Research to Peace Action: Some Pertinent Ethical Questions," Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1974, no. 4, pp. 366-371.

T. F. Lentz, Toward A Science of Peace. N.Y.: Bookman Association, Inc., 1961.
Michael Washburn and Paul Wehr, Peace and World Order Systems. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

4. Alternative Approaches to Peace Research in the Study of International Organization

Sewell, James P., Functionalism and World Politics: A Study Based on United Nations Programs Financing Economic Development. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

For later exploration:
Ernst B. Haas, Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1964.
P. Jahor, "The Functionalist Approach to the Problem of International Order: A Defense," Political Studies, vol. XVI, no. 3, Oct. 1968.

5. Regionalism and International Organization

Joseph S. Nye, ed., International Regionalism.

For later exploration:
Joseph S. Nye, Peace in Parts?
R. Yalem, "Regionalism and World Order," International Organization, vol. XXIV, no. 4, Autumn, 1970.
Bruce M. Russett, International Regions and the International System. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975 (Reprint 1967).

6. The United Nations System. Can It Be Revived?

Chadwick F. Alger, "Problems in Global Organization," International Social Science Journal, vol. XXII, no. 4, UNESCO, 1970.
R. Gregg and M. Barkun, eds., The U.N. System and Its Functions, pp. 208-214.
Richard Gardner, "The U.N. and Alternative Formulations -- The Hard Road to World Order," mimeo. (Reprint).
Richard Gardner, "Can the U.N. Be Revived?" Foreign Affairs, vol. 48, no. 4, July, 1970.

For later exploration:
David Kay, ed., The United Nations Political System. Huntington, N.Y.: Krieger, 1967.
Arthur Lall, The Security Council in a Universal United Nations.

7. The U.N. Machinery for Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Peace Keeping Operations. "Negative Peace" Yes, "Positive Peace" No?

Indar Rikhye, Michael Hartbottle and Bjorn Egge, The Thin Blue Line; International Peace Keeping and Its Future. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1974.

For later exploration:
Portfolio for Peace. (Excerpts from the writings and speeches of U Thant, Secretary-General of the U.N., on major world issues 1961-1968).
Richard Falk, Johan Galtung, Rajni Kothari and Saul Mendlovitz, First State of the Globe Report. N.Y.: Institute for World Order, 1975.

8. Non-Governmental Organizations and Peace. Transnationalism.

Lyman White, International Non-Governmental Organizations: Their Purposes, Methods, & Accomplishments. Westport, CT.: Greenwood, 1968 (Reprint of 1951).

For later exploration:
L. Kriesberg, "Non-Governmental Organization," in K. Boulding, Peace and the War Industry. Edison, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1973, pp. 42-52.
Joseph Nye, Jr. and Robert Keohane, eds., Transnational Relations and World Politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
Robert W. Cox, ed., Politics of International Organization: Studies in Multilateral Social & Economic Agencies. N.Y.: Praeger, 1970.

9. Examining Ways in Which International Organization Can Become a More Effective Instrument for the Maintenance of Peace and Security.

Richard A. Falk, Future Worlds. N.Y.: The Foreign Policy Association, 1976, Headline Series, no. 229.

For later exploration:
Chadwick F. Alger, "Methodological Innovation in Research on International Organizations," Political Science Annual, vol. 2, 1969-'70, pp. 209-240.
R. Angell, Peace on the March: Transnational Participation. N.Y.: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1969.
Z. Brzezinski, Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era. N.Y.: Viking Press, 1970.

10. Human Rights in the World Community: the Theoretical and Historical Development of Conceptions of Human Rights: Civil Political, Social, Economic, and Other Rights.

Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Human Rights in the World Community: A Call for U.S. Leadership, (Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements).

M. Glenn Abernathy, *Civil Liberties Under the Constitution*. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1972, pp. 46-99, 247-329, 330-438.

For later exploration:
UNESCO, *Human Rights: Comments and Interpretations*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1949.
Jaroslav Tusek, *A Right to Liberty in the Light of Contemporary Conditions in the Soviet Union*, mimeo. (Reserve)

11. *Methods of International Protection of Human Rights. International Perspective on Human Rights Examined*.

Louis B. Sohn and Thomas Buergenthal, *International Protection of Human Rights* (casebook and basic documents). Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973.
Vernon Van Dyke, *Human Rights, the United States, and the World Community*. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1970.

For later exploration:
Ervin H. Pollack, ed., *Human Rights: Amintaphil I*.

12. *Human Rights and the U.N. Human Rights Machinery. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants*.

UN, *The United Nations and Human Rights*.
UN, *United Nations Action in the Field of Human Rights*.

For later exploration:
Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, 77th Session, *Report on the Second Ad Hoc Interagency Meeting on the Implementation of the International Covenants on Human Rights*, Geneva, 14-16 January, 1976. (Reserve)
UN, *Study of Discrimination in the Matter of Political Rights*.
Jaroslav Tusek, *A Report to the International League for the Rights of Man on the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*, mimeo. (Reserve)

13. *Peace and Human Rights in Peace Research Perspective on International Organization*.

Herman Schmid, "Peace Research and Politics," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 3, 1968, pp. 217-232.
Robert W. Cox, *Anatomy of Influence: Decision-Making in International Relations*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
Chadwick F. Alger, "Methodological Innovation in Research on International Organizations," *Political Science Annual*, vol. 2, 1969-'70, pp. 209-240.

For later exploration:
Charles Beitz and Michael Washburn, *Creating the Future: A Guide to Living and Working for Social Change*. N.Y.: Bantam, 1973.

Lester Brown, World Without Borders. N.Y.: Vintage Books, 1973.

Asbjorn Eide, "A Value-Based Approach: Methods and Problems in Peace Research," International Social Science Journal, vol. XXVI, no. 1, 1974, pp. 119-133.

HUMAN RIGHTS
Political Science 165

Vernon Van Dyke
Spring, 1977

Department of Political Science
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

ASSIGNED READING

Bakke v. Regents of University of California, Sup., 132 Cal. Rptr. 680.

Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick, eds., *Black Nationalism in America. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969)*,
- pp. 476-485 and pp. 531-534.
- pp. 476-485: "Revised Demands of the Black Students," Northwestern University.
- pp. 531-534: "The Black Panther Party Program."

Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick, eds., *Conflict and Competition: Studies in the Recent Black Protest Movement*. *(Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publications, 1971)*,
- pp. 135-156 and pp. 210-226.
- pp. 135-156: Allen J. Matusow, "From Civil Rights to Black Power: The Case of SNCC, 1960-1966."
- pp. 210-226: Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt."

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Deloria, Vine, *We Talk, You Listen*. (New York: Dell, 1970).

Dye, Thomas R., *The Politics of Equality*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971).

Nisbet, Robert A., *The Quest for Community*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).

Van Dyke, Vernon, *Human Rights, The United States, and World Community*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

________________, "Justice as Fairness: For Groups?" *American Political Science Review*, 69 (June 1975), pp. 607-614.

OPTIONAL READING

Van Dyke, Vernon, "Human Rights Without Discrimination," *American Political Science Review*, 57 (December, 1973), pp. 1267-1274.

________________, "Equality and Discrimination in Education," *International Studies Quarterly*, 17 (December, 1973), pp. 375-404.

________________, "One Man, One Vote and Majority Rule as Human Rights," *Human Rights Journal* (Revue des Droits de l'Homme), vol. 6, nos. 3-4 (1973), pp. 447-466.

__________________, "Human Rights and the Rights of Groups," American Journal of Political Science, 18 (November 1974), pp. 725-741.

__________________, "Human Rights Without Distinction as to Language," International Studies Quarterly, 20 (March 1976), pp. 3-38.

__________________, "The Individual, the State, and Ethnic Communities in Political Theory," (April 1977).

Hour examinations are scheduled for February 11 and March 18. Exams consist of essay questions, with a choice of two out of three, or three out of four.

Outline and Reading Assignments

Part I. Introduction

A. Why a course on human rights?
B. The nature of this course
C. General meaning and implications of the term human rights

Part II. Concern for Human Rights: Its Growth and Manifestations

A. Growth and manifestations at the national level, and resistance to comparable developments at the international level
B. Growth and manifestations at the international level

Part III. What are Human Rights?

A. Criteria of judgment and theories of rights advanced by political philosophers

Recommended reading:

S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters, The Principles of Political Thought. N.Y.: Free Press, 1965, esp. chapters 2, 4, and 5.
Morris Ginsberg, On Justice in Society.

B. Civil and political rights, as enumerated in international agreements

Read:

Van Dyke, pp. 3-51.
Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. (Texts of the Covenants and of other international agreements are collected in: Ian Brownlie, ed., Basic Documents on Human Rights. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.)

C. Economic social, and cultural rights, as enumerated in international agreements

Read:

Van Dyke, book, pp. 52-76.
Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

D. Self-determination and minority rights, as enumerated in international agreements

Read:

Van Dyke, book, pp. 77-102.

Part IV: Equal and Nondiscriminatory Treatment as a Human Right

A. Introduction

B. The philosophical basis for the claim to equal treatment, and philosophical interpretations of the concept

Recommended reading:

Benn and Peters, cited above.
Isaiah Berlin, "Equality," Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, vol. LVI (1955-1956), pp. 301-326.

C. Expediential considerations commending equal treatment

D. The equal protection of the laws and its interpretation in American practice

Read:

Dye, entire book.
Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick, eds., the pages from both books listed on the first page of this syllabus, Bakke case.

E. The equal protection of the laws and its interpretation abroad

F. Provisions for equal and nondiscriminatory treatment in international instruments, and some questions about their interpretation

Part V: The Idea of Group Rights and Their Relationship to the Equal and Nondiscriminatory Treatment of Individuals

A. Introduction

B. Philosophic views: Nisbet, The Quest for Community, and philosophers with related views.

Read:

Nisbet, entire book.

C. Philosophic views: John Rawls, A Theory of Justice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Read:

Van Dyke, "Justice as Fairness: For Groups?"

D. Philosophic views: Vine Deloria, We Talk, You Listen.

Read:

Deloria, entire book.

E. Illustrations of relationships between group rights and individual rights

1. Political participation. Communalism
2. Rights of movement and residence
3. Economic rights
4. Rights relating to language
5. The South African case, and Namibia
6. Rhodesia

Part VI. The International Obligations of States (Accepted or Proposed) Relating to the Treatment of Individuals and Groups. Justifications for Making Human Rights a Matter of International Obligation

Read:

Van Dyke, book pp. 105-156.

Part VII. International Action for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. The Nature and Effectiveness of the Relevant Principles and Policies

Read:

Van Dyke, book, pp. 159-254.

D. ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

OIL, CARTELS AND CHANGING WORLD ORDER*
Political Science 374a

Charles Doran
Fall, 1976

Department of Political Science
Rice University
Houston, TX

A. Oil as a Case Study of Changing World Relations

(1) Nature of the Oil Crisis 1973-74
  Vernon, ed., The Oil Crisis, N.Y.: Norton, 1976, pp. 1-143.
(2) Is There a Just Price for Oil?
  Vernon, pp. 145-158, 229-281.
  Connelly and Perlman, The Politics of Scarcity: Resource Conflicts in International Relations, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 25-64.
(3) How "Obscene" Are Profits in the Oil Industry?
  Jacoby, Multinational Oil, pp. 1-92, 213-256.
  Vernon, pp. 159-202.
(4) Divestiture: Can Regulation Solve the Energy Problem?
  Jacoby, pp. 93-212, 257-307.
(5) Middle East Politics and Oil Supply
  "An Exchange on Mideast Guarantees," Foreign Policy, 21, 1975-76, pp. 212-223.
  "Sadat Takes the Long View," The Middle East, October 1975, pp. 8-14.
  Campbell, "The Energy Crisis and U.S. Policy in the Middle East," in Szyliowicz and O'Neill, The Energy Crisis and U.S. Foreign Policy, N.Y.: Praeger, 1975, pp. 110-24.

HOUR EXAM

(6) International Energy Agency (IEA): Confrontation or Self-Protection?
  Vernon, pp. 203-227.
  Connelly and Perlman, pp. 95-108.
(7) Cohesion and Coalition Formation in OPEC
  Mikdashi, The Community of Oil Exporting Countries, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972.
(8) Energy Technology: Chimera or Realistic Investment?
  Fisher, Energy Crises in Perspective, N.Y.: Wiley, 1974, pp. 39-50, 107-142.

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* For lectures and additional materials, see Charles Doran, Myth, Oil, & Politics, N.Y.: Free Press, 1977.

(9) Conservation, Energy Consumption, and the Good Life For Middle America
Newman and Day, The American Energy Consumer, N.Y.: Ballinger, 1974, pp. 87-124, 169-199.

PAPER DUE November 30

B. Non-fuel Minerals and Cartel Politics

(10) Are Resources Adequate or Insufficient to Meet World Needs?
Connelly and Perlman, pp. 9-24, 67-94.
Keyfitz, Article from Scientific American on Population and Resources (xeroxed).
(11) Poverty, Growth, and the Third World
Bhagwati, ed., Economics and World Order, N.Y.: Free Press, 1972, pp. 1-77, 199-353.
Connelly and Perlman, pp. 109-145.
(12) Are OPEC-like Cartels Possible in Other Commodities?
Mikesell, Nonfuel Minerals: U.S. Investment Policies Abroad.

C. New Structures of International Relations

(13) Cartels and the New International Economic Order
Bhagwati, pp. 113-197.
Gosovic and Ruggie, "On the Creation of a New Economic Order," International Organization Vol. 30, 1976, pp. 309-346.
(14) Development, Scarcity, and World Order in the Year 2000
Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, N.Y.: Free Press, 1975, pp. 350-412.

ECONOMICS OF PEACE

Sushila Gidwani
Spring, 1976

Economics/School of Business
Manhattan College
Bronx, NY

Jan. 26 I. Introduction
- A. The Quest for Peace
- B. Peace: Non-Violence
  Resolution of Conflicts or Dynamic Harmony?
- C. Peace and Man

Readings:
Seymour Melman, *The Peace Race*.

Jan. 27 II. Aspects of Human Behavior
- A. Man and His Needs
- B. Man and His Attributes
- C. Man and His Driving Forces
- D. Man and His Search for Security

Readings:
H. H. Grath & C. W. Mills, *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 159-162.
Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1967, pp. 117-143, 191-236.
Desmond Morris, *The Human Zoo*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969, chs. 1, 2, 3.
Drew & Lipson, *Values and Humanity*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971, chs. 1, 3, 5.

Jan. 29 III. Formation of a Society
- A. Individual Among Many
- B. Need for Organization
- C. Need for Value System
- D. Formation of Social Institutions
- E. Social Cost vs. Social Benefits
- F. Social Responsibility: Cost or Charity

Feb. 2-5 IV. Formation of an Economic Society
- A. Fundamental Economic Questions
- B. Determinants of Economic System
- C. The Relationship Between Facts, Principles and Policies in Economics

Readings:
Kalman Goldbers, *Our Changing Economy: An Introduction to Economics*. Boston: Little-Brown, 1976, pp. 1-14, 22-32, 8-21.
C. R. McConnell, *Economics*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, pp. 1-18.

Feb. 9-12 D. Basic Laws of Production
E. Methods of Distribution

Readings:
Kalman Goldbers, *supra*, pp. 33-41.
C. R. McConnell, *supra*, pp. 28-38.

Feb. 16 V. *History of Economic Systems*
A. Tribal (Nomadic) Economies
    (1) Hunting Societies
    (2) Pastoral Societies
B. Agrarian Economies
    (1) Concept of Private Property
    (2) Manorial System
    (3) Feudal System
    (4) Capitalistic Development of Manors

Readings:
M. G. Giesbrecht, *The Evolution of Economic Society*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972, pp. 1-116, or
Max Weber, *General Economic History*. New York: Collier Books, 1961, pp. 1-137.
Kalman Goldbers, *supra*, pp. 49-62.

C. Cottage Industries
D. The Renaissance
    (1) Specialization, Commercialism, and Mercantilism
    (2) The Use of Money
    (3) Development of Transportation and Market System
    (4) Guild System
    (5) International Trade
E. Evolution of Industrial Society
    (1) Factory System
    (2) Mass Scale Production and the Development of Industrial Grants
    (3) Rate of Colonization in the Development of Industrial Capitalistic Societies
    (4) Evaluation of Socialism

Readings:
Max Weber, *supra*, pp. 128-233.
Kalman Goldbers, *supra*, pp. 49-62.

Feb. 23 - March 4 VI. Existing Economic Systems

A. Modern Capitalism
The American Economy

Readings:
Kalman Goldbers, supra, chs. 4-11.

B. Socialistic Economic System: The Soviet Economy and The Chinese Economy

Readings:
C. R. McConnell, Economics Issues. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975 (5th ed.), pp. 359-69.

March 18-22 VII. The Quest for Economic Development and Economic Growth

A. Methods and Problems of Developing Countries

Readings:
New York Times, Jan. 25, 1976, section 3.

March 23-30 VIII. Global Distribution of Economic Resources

A. Distribution and Exploitation of Natural Resources
B. The Political Partition of Regions Endowed with Natural Resources
C. Causes of Economic Backwardness
D. The Engineering of Underdevelopment
E. Distribution of the World Population
F. Distribution of Industrial Power
G. The Rate of Technology

Readings:
United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1973, pp. 130-198.
Robert O. Collins, ed. The Partition of Africa: Illusion or Necessity. New York: John Wiley, 1969, pp. 51-212.
Laura Randall, ed. Economic Development: Evolution or Revolution. Boston: Heatly, 1969, pp. 2-8, 32-54.
World Population, Vol. 369 (January 1969).
Scientific American, Technology and Economic Development. New York: Knopf, 1963.

Apr. 5-9 IX. Sources of Conflicts

A. The Individual vs. Society
B. Personal Benefits vs. Societal Benefits
C. Rich Nations vs. Poor Nations
D. International Trade
E. Exploitation and Control of Natural Resources
F. Dilemma Facing Underdeveloped Countries

Apr. 12-22 X. Resistance to Change and Neo-Colonialism

- A. Economic Institutions
- B. Investment Patterns, International Trade and Economic Blocks
- C. The Multinational Corporations
- D. Economics of War

Readings:

Andre Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969, pp. 242-318.

Foreign Policy, No. 12, Fall 1973, pp. 3-8, 34-37.

The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 403, Sept. 1972.

Seymour Melman, ed. The War Economy of the United States. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971, pp. 9-23, 160-169.

Seymour Melman, Pentagon Capitalism. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970, pp. 35-106.

Apr. 26-28 XI. The Global Plight

- A. A Shrinking World
- B. The Spread of Humanitarianism
- C. The Quest for Industrialization
- D. The Rise of Nationalism
- E. The Super Powers
- F. Rising Expectations
- G. Deepening of Conflicts and the Question of Survival

May 3-12 XII. Strategies for the World Peace

- A. Economic Development and Wealth Redistribution
  - (1) Economic Confrontation
  - (2) Economic Cooperation
  - (3) Developing Countries within an Economic Confederation
  - (4) Quid Pro Quo: The Economic Leverage of Developing Countries
- B. Technological Advances to Supplement the World Natural Resources
- C. International Social Responsibility
- D. Strategy for Economic Development: Industrialization vs. Gandhian Economics
- E. The Space Age: Colonization of Space

INTRODUCTION TO THE GLOBAL ECONOMY
(INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY)
Economics 302
International Studies 301

Ed Hewett
Mike Conroy
Spring, 1976

Economics and International Studies
University of Texas
Austin, TX

1. Objectives: This course is an experimental course designed to teach the principles of economics within a framework of the world or global economy, rather than from the narrower perspective of the U.S. economy. The concepts to be surveyed in this course are basically the same as those encountered in most introductory economics courses; the illustrations of the concepts, however, will be drawn from many nations; and a principal emphasis will be given to the interdependence of all economies of the globe, rather than to any implicit notion of the self-sufficiency of the U.S. economy or of the ability of the U.S. economy to function without profound effect upon most other national economies of the world.

2. Grading: The grading system for all students will provide a series of options which permit each student to choose the manner in which she or he wishes to take the course. All students will be required to take the final examination; the final will count at least 40% of the final grade of every student. The remaining 60% of the final grade will consist of whichever two of the following options will give each student the highest possible grade: a) the mid-term examination; b) the average of the 4 quizzes; c) a paper or report on a topic related to the course and discussed either with Hewett or Conroy prior to submission; and d) the final examination counted additionally.

A person could thus fulfill the minimum requirements for the course by taking only the Mid-term and the Final; alternatively, one could submit all of the options and only those grades which would maximize the final grade would be counted.

3. Evaluation: We are very interested in receiving your comments throughout the semester. You will be asked to fill out evaluation forms at several points during the semester and after the end of the course. There exists room for revision in almost every dimension of the course; please let us have your suggestions as we go along. A list of office hours will be distributed soon.

5B

1. Textbooks

Title and Author	Abbreviation
Richard T. Gill, *Economics and the Public Interest* (2nd Edition), Salt Lake City: Goodyear, 1976.	Gill
Gregory Grossman, *Economic Systems* (2nd Edition), Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.	Grossman
Lester Brown, *World Without Borders*, N.Y.: Random House, 1972.	Brown
Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1976*, Leesburg, Va.: WMSE Publications, 1976.	Sivard

2. Lecture Schedule and Reading Assignments

January 19: Introduction

January 21: "Relative World Economic Conditions: An Overview." Hewett. Reading: Sivard, pp. 3-13.

January 23: "The Economic Problem." Conroy. Reading: Gill.

January 26: "Introduction to Alternative Economic Systems." Hewett. Reading: Grossman, Chapter 2.

January 28: "Elements of Traditional Economic Systems." Hewett. Reading: Article by B. Malinowsky on reserve in BEB Library.

January 30: "Elements of Market Economic Systems." Conroy. Reading: Gill, Chapter 2, and Grossman, Chapter 4.

February 2: "Where Market Systems Break Down." Conroy. Reading: Articles by L. Von Mises and P. Baran on reserve in BEB Library.

February 4: "The Global Economy." Hewett. Reading: Brown, Chapter 10.

February 6: "Underdevelopment as Part of the Global Economy." Conroy. Reading: Article by M. Conroy on reserve in BEB library.

February 9: "Ideologies and Isms." Hewett. Reading: Grossman, Chapter 3.

February 11: "Central Planning as a System." Hewett. Reading: Grossman, Chapter 6.

February 13: Review and First Quiz

February 16: "Measuring Aggregate Economic Performance." Conroy. Reading: Gill, Chapters 6 and 7.

February 18: "What Determines the Level of National Income?" Conroy. Reading: Gill, Chapters 6 and 7. (Read them twice, then read them again.)

February 20: "Government Spending Policy." Conroy. Reading: Gill, Chapters 9 and 10.

February 23: "Government Monetary Policy." Conroy. Reading: Gill, Chapter 11.

February 25: "Inflation, Unemployment, Boom, and Recession: Policy Options." Conroy. Reading: Gill, Chapter 12.

February 27: Review and Second Quiz

March 1: "International Trade in Petroleum and Global Economic Problems." Guest Lecturer.

March 3: "Principles of International Trade." Hewett.

March 5: "Third World Objections to International Trade." Conroy.

March 8: "Common Market Solutions to Trade Problems."

March 10: "Multinational Corporations and International Trade."

March 12: Midterm Examination

Spring Break

March 22: "Economics of the Soviet Union, I." Hewett. Reading: Grossman, Chapter 6.

March 24: "Economics of the Soviet Union, II." Hewett. Reading: Grossman, Chapter 8.

March 26: "Economics of Eastern Europe." Hewett. Reading: Grossman, Chapter 7.

March 29: "The Cuban Model." Guest Lecturer: Cam Duncan. Reading: D. Barkin article on reserve in BEB Library.

March 31: "U.S. Economic Development History." Conroy. Reading: Gill II, Chapters 1 to 4.

April 2: "Failure of the U.S. Model for Contemporary Third World." Conroy. Reading: Gill II, Chapters 5 and 6.

April 5: "Foreign Aid." Conroy.

April 7: "The Political Economy of Food." Conroy. Reading: Brown, Chapter 6.

April 9: "Global Extremities." Hewett. Reading: Brown, Chapter 2.

April 12: "Global Recession and Recovery." Conroy.

April 14: "Population and Global Prosperity." Conroy. Reading: Brown, Chapter 8.

April 16: Review and Third Quiz

April 19: "U.S. Comparative Advantage in International Trade." Hewett.

April 21: "The Arms Trade." Hewett. Reading: Brown, Chapter 9.

April 23: "Economic Growth and Global Redistribution." Conroy. Reading: Tinbergen article on reserve in BEB Library.

April 26: "U.S. Multinational Corporations." Hewett. Reading: Brown, Chapter 11.

April 30: "Economic Planning in the U.S." Hewett. Reading: Article from Challenge on reserve in BEB Library.

May 3 & 5: "The Economic Future of the World and of the United States Within It." Debate and Discussion. Reading: Brown, Chapters 16 and 17.

May 7: Review and Fourth Quiz

DEVELOPING AREAS AND FUTURE WORLD ORDER

International Affairs 1404

Rajni Kothari
Fall, 1976
M, W, 4:10-5:25

Graduate School of
International Affairs
Columbia University
New York, NY

This course will have two main points of departure: consideration of the problems of development as global; and consideration of the issues of future world order along the North-South axis. Such a treatment will involve a shift of emphasis from thinking of world affairs in terms exclusively of great power relations with the rest of the world looked upon as either providing "spheres of influence" for the great powers or as poor regions whose sole need was economic development. In shifting the emphasis, these other dimensions will not be excluded. But they will be seen in a different framework of historical and futuristic analysis. In this way the course will both supplement other courses on international relations and comparative development and suggest an alternative way of looking at them.

Historical Background. After introducing the main theme of the course it will proceed to deal with the historical roots of the present division of the world between "developed" and "underdeveloped". This will trace both the emergence of the idea of a single globe and the subsequent structuring of it to the technological and scientific revolutions in the West, its intellectual ascendance and its peculiar conception of political organization in terms of the modern states system. This will be followed by an analysis of the colonial order in terms not only of the growth of imperialism but also the global division of labour between colonial economies and industrialization of metropolitan areas. The spread of liberal education which produced a particular kind of elite in the colonies and the major intellectual currents of nineteenth and twentieth centuries (liberalism, nationalism and national self-determination, egalitarianism, the theory of progress and the theory of revolution) which influenced this elite will be covered. The nationalist revolutions and the horizontal growth of anti-colonialism as a worldwide movement in the inter-war period will be treated against this background as well as the background of traumatic developments in the Western world during the same period which also saw the emergence of communist power and ideology.

Contemporary World Processes. Against this historical background the course will deal with the contemporary (post-1945) world processes that have on the one hand institutionalized the present dualism of the world through a structure of dominance and dependence and, on the other hand, seen the slow emergence of a Third World consciousness and efforts to articulate and mobilize this consciousness. This analysis will have two streams. One will focus on (a) the militarization of the globe through regional security pacts and Cold War diplomacy, (b) patterns of trade, investment and aid that produced the typical structure of neo-colonialism, (c) the nature of inter-elite relations between metropolitan and peripheral centres, (d) the creation of a "world culture" through the worldwide spread of the dominant paradigm of techno-economic development, (e) the global structuring of world resources, and (f) the nature of the U.N. system. The other will deal with the efforts of Third World countries to shake their dependence and produce a more equal world, from Bandung to Algiers and beyond, right up to the two special sessions of the U.N. and the recent debate on a new international economic order. The emerging encounter between the North and South and its consequences for future world order will be dealt with in this part of the course.

Regional Profile. Such an encounter between a structure of dominance and the challenge to it by the emergence of new centers of power and new thinking in the Third World will be dealt with from the vantage point of the principal regions of the developing world - China, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America. The idea here is less to provide a detailed history of developments in these regions and more to highlight the major turning points in respect of the encounter mentioned above, the trends under way and the future of global redistribution of power and resources. In dealing with these, due attention will be paid to the changing configuration of power at the global level (detente, the emergence of China, the challenge of OPEC, nuclear proliferation, emerging new frontiers of great power rivalry) and their significance for the various Third World regions.

Main Issues in Reordering World Relationships. All of these are meant to delineate, illustrate and document the phenomenon of a world divided, between the developed and the developing regions. They are meant to provide an historical overview and a background to the main part of the course, viz., a study of the principal issues that face us in moving towards a credible and just future world order. There is already under way quite some debate and controversy over the manner in which these issues are to be dealt with, both among theorists of world order and among national and international elites. It is intended to interest the participants in the course in this debate by presenting different points of view and evaluating them. The issues will be dealt with under three main rubrics: (a) the world economic system; (b) the rising social magnitudes of global significance: resources and the war system, population, food and nutrition, the possibility of a breakdown in world health standards and the outbreak of epidemics, patterns of migration, urbanization and unemployment that threaten breakdown of civil authority, and the ecological consequences of of all these; (c) the choice of an appropriate techno-economic model for a world with a fast changing balance between human numbers, natural resources and technology; and (d) the global institutional framework for dealing with (a) and (b).

In dealing with these global issues alternative scenarios and models put forward in recent scholarship on world future will be gone into and their respective premises and methodologies examined. At the same time, major strands of thought among influential leaders and thinkers in the Third World will be explored. The merits of both the scenarios and models put forward by the scholarly community and the idealogical standpoints and strategies espoused by the leaders of the Third World will be assessed in terms of a set of world order values for moving towards a more just and less violent future world order.

COURSE OUTLINE & READING ASSIGNMENTS

The reading list is somewhat tentative. Advice on portions of the books listed will be provided as the course proceeds, and other papers, articles, and excerpts will be circulated from time to time.

I. Historical Background

William McNeill, The Rise of the West. Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1963, part 3.
Keith Irvine, The Rise of the Coloured Races. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970.
Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1960.
G. Barraclough, An Introduction to Contemporary History. New York: Penguin Books, 1967.

II. Contemporary World Structure

Irving Louis Horowitz, Three Worlds of Development: The Theory and Practice of International Stratification. London: Oxford U. Press, 1966, Ch. 1, 2, 4, 7, 10 & 14.
Henry Bernstein,ed., Underdevelopment and Development. New York: Penguin, 1973.
Paul Alpert, Partnership or Confrontation?: Poor Lands and Rich. New York: The Free Press, 1973.
Johan Galtung, "On the Future of the International System," Journal of Peace Research, 1967, pp. 305-333.

III. Specific Major World Order Issues

A. Militarization:

Herman Kahn, "The Arms Race and Some of Its Hazards," in Falk and Mendlovitz, eds., The Strategy of World Order. New York: Institute for World Order, 1966, pp. 17-50.

K. Waltz, Man, The State and War. New York: Columbia U. Press, 1954, pp. 1-41.
R. Barnet, Roots of War. New York: Penguin, 1972, pp. 23-47, 146-175.

B. Resources and Their Distribution:

R. Heilbroner, The Great Ascent - The Struggle for Economic Development in Our Times. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
Jagdish Bhagwati, ed., Economics and World Order. New York: Free Press, 1972.

C. Food and Nutrition:

Lester R. Brown and Erik P. Eckholm, By Bread Alone. New York: Praeger, 1974.
Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, Only One Earth, The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972.
John McHale, World Facts and Trends. New York: Macmillan (latest edition).

D. Health and Nutrition:

Georg Borgstrom, The Dual Challenge to Health and Hunger: A Global Crisis. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau #31.
U.N. Economic and Social Council, Preparation Committee of the World Food Conference, Present Food Situation and Dimensions and Causes of Hunger and Malnutrition in the World. New York, ECOSOC, 1974.

IV. Third World Thinking

David C. Gordon, Self-Determination and History in the Third World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1971.
Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth. New York, 1968.
Paul Valery, Reflections on the World Today (Regards sur le Monde Actuel). New York: French & European Publications, 1958.
Gamal Abdel Nasser, The Philosophy of Revolution. Washington Public Affairs Press, 1955.
Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965.
Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology. New York: Praeger, 1961.
Julius K. Nyerere, Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism (including the Arusha Declaration). London: Oxford U. Press, 1971.

V. Methodology of World Order and Future Thinking

Burns Weston, "Education for Human Survival," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1975, Vol. *261*, pp. *115-125*.

Saul H. Mendlovitz, "Introduction" to Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's*. New York: Free Press, 1975.

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future*. New York: Free Press, 1974, Ch. 1-4.

VI. Scenarios and Models

Herman Kahn and Anthony Wiener, *The Year 2000: A Framework for Speculation on the Next 33 Years*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

R. Jungk and J. Galtung, eds., *Mankind 2000*. London: Universitet, 1969.

Donella H. Meadows, *et al.*, *The Limits to Growth: A Report to the Club of Rome Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. New York: Universe Books, 1972.

H.S.D. Cole, *et al.*, *Models of Doom: A Critique of the Limits to Growth*. New York: Universe Books, 1973.

J. Maddox, *The Doomsday Syndrome*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974.

Saturday Review/World (Golden Anniversary Issue), *The Next Fifty Years*, August 24, 1974.

Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., *On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's*. New York: Free Press, 1975.

Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds*. New York: Free Press, 1975.

Ali A. Mazrui, *A World Federation of Cultures*. New York: Free Press, 1976.

Rajni Kothari, *Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative*. New York: Free Press, 1974.

SUGGESTED PAPER TOPICS

1. Global Military Trends
2. Militarization of Third World Societies
3. Arms Trade between Industrialized and Third World Countries
4. Nuclear Proliferation: Third World Thinking
5. Social and Military Expenditures in the World
6. Distribution and Redistribution of Resources along North-South Axis
7. OPEC Strategy of Redistribution of Resources: A Critical Assessment
8. Terms of Trade between Industrialized and Developing Countries

9. Prospects of Third World Solidarity in Changing the World Economic Scene
10. "The New International Economic Order": An Examination of the Proposal and Responses Thereto
11. World Food Prospects - The Next 25 Years
12. Bringing More Land Under the Plough - Prospects, Resistances, Strategies
13. Health and Nutrition Standards Around the World - The Next 25 Years
14. Medical Education and Reaching Public Health and Preventative Medicine to the Rural Poor
15. Urbanization, Environmental Consequences, and the Prospects for Feeding the World Population
16. Population Control - Doctrine, Politics, Issues
17. Alternative Technology: Debate, Issues, Choices
18. Western Model of Development: A Third World Critique
19. Multinational Corporations and the Problem of Development Strategy and National Autonomy
20. Migration Trends and the World Balance of Factors of Production
21. Styles of Life and Resources Utilization
22. Elite-Mass Relationships in the Third World and the Model of Development
23. Technology, Models of Development, and Environmental Consequences
24. The Concept of "Alternatives"
25. The Concept of "Alternative Futures"
26. China's Model of Development: Lessons, Possibilities and Limits of Evaluation, Alternative Modes of Reaching Similar Goals
27. The Problem of Authoritarianism as an Instrument of Rapid Development
28. Human Rights and Social Justice in the Third World
29. The Non-Aligned Movement: from Bandung to Colombo
30. Third World and World Political Structure
31. Changing Nature of the United Nations Organization
32. Regional Organizations and Economic Self-Reliance in the Third World
33. Ideology and World Future: How Relevant are Liberalism and Marxism to the Contemporary World?
34. My Design for a Future World Order
35. The Future of International Terrorism
36. Guerrilla Warfare as an Instrument of Social Justice
37. Regional (North-South, East-West) Analysis versus Class Analysis in the Study of World Order
38. The Educational System and World Order
39. Intellectuals and the Future of the World
40. United Nations Conferences on Environment, Food, Population, Law of the Seas, Women and Human Settlements

GLOBAL ECOPOLITICS
Government and Politics 306

Department of
Government and Politics
University of Maryland
College Park, MD

Dennis Pirages
Spring, 1977
T, Th: 9:30-10:45

Required Books:

Brown, By Bread Alone, New York: Praeger, 1974.
Cook, Man, Energy, Society, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976.
Kothari, Footsteps Into The Future, New York: Free Press, 1974.
Tinbergen, Reshaping The International Order, New York: E. P. Dutton.
Uri, Development Without Dependence, New York: Praeger, 1976.

January 13: Introductory Remarks

January 18: Ecopolitics defined - technology and international politics - the emergence of the present international order - two great economic revolutions - the spread of industrial society - expansion in Western Europe - lateral pressures and colonialism.
Assignment: Tinbergen, Chapters 1-4.

January 20: The origins of ecopolitical concerns - The nature of exponential growth - the world population problem - finite supplies of natural resources - global pollution - the evolution of the limits to growth controversy - the equity revolution.

January 25: Resources and carrying capacity - the law of the minimum - lateral pressures, conquest, trade, neocolonialism - the growth of interdependence - theories of comparative advantage - the role of technology in creating economic hierarchies - the present transition in international relations.
Assignment: Cook, Chapters 1, 8.

January 27: Energy as the key to affluence - animate and inanimate forms - current solar income - fossil fuel subsidies - the nature and creation of fossil fuels - two laws of thermodynamics - Energy and economic systems.
Assignment: Cook, Chapters 2-4.

February 1: Fossil fuel reserves - problems of estimation - global distribution patterns - the transportation problem - petroleum and natural gas - problems of import dependency.
Assignment: Cook, Chapters 5, 6, 13.

February 3: The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries - origins of the cartel - factors leading to its success - the question of cartel survival - the dominant role of Saudi Arabia - Petroleum prices in the short-run and long-run - problems of indexing.
Assignment: Cook, Chapter 9.

February 8: The global impact of the petroleum price increase - winners and losers - the never-to-be-developed world - the politics of energy alternatives.
Assignment: Cook, Chapters 11, 12, 14, 15.

February 10: Non-fuel minerals - their importance to industrial societies - formation - use- abundance.

February 15: World distribution of non-fuel minerals - comparative dependencies - the link between energy and non-fuel mineral abundance - the U.S. minerals position.

February 17: Are there other OPECs in our future - attempts to form new cartels - differences and similarities with OPEC.

February 22: Population and the world food problem - distribution of protein and calorie consumption - causes of population growth - birth control and death control - the demographic transition - the race between population growth and food production.
Assignment: Brown, Chapters 1-4.

February 24: The world food market - varieties of crops - things people eat - major exporters and importers.
Assignment: Brown, Chapters 5-9.

March 1: Starvation and affluence - demand vs. effective demand - food and carrying capacity - ghost acreage - the Netherlands fallacy.

March 3: Factors limiting agricultural productivity - land-water - fertilizer - technology - climate.
Assignment: Brown, Chapters 10, 11, 13, 14.

March 8: The green revolution - physical and economic impact - food production in developing countries.

March 10: The interconnections - energy and agricultural productivity - potatoes made of oil - agricultural alternatives.

March 15: Mid-term

March 17: Technology and the development gap - capitalism and "trickle-down" theories of development - the performance record under the old international economic order.
Assignment: Uri, Chapters 1-4.

March 29: Contemporary problems of development - technology and terms of trade - one-crop economies - debt burdens - the foreign aid myth.

March 31: The emergence of the New International Economic Order - new economic demands - roots of the movement.
Assignment: Tinbergen, Chapters 5-7.

April 5: Ecodevelopment and sustainable modernization - siting factories near resources - matching plans with opportunities - meeting basic human needs.
Assignment: Tinbergen, Chapters 8-19, Uri, Chapters 8-9.

April 7: International non-governmental actors - multinational corporations - their impact on economic development - problems of regulation.
Assignment: Uri, Chapters 5, 6.

April 12: Technology and tragedies of the commons - the oceans - outer space - the arctic and antarctic - nuclear waste disposal.

April 14: Competition for markets - nuclear technology and nuclear proliferation - the spread of nuclear reactors - nuclear terrorism.
Assignment: Kothari, Chapters 1-2.

April 19: Steps toward a more viable international political economy - re-thinking modernization - appropriate technologies - growth and human happiness.
Assignment: Kothari, Chapters 3-4.

April 21: Transforming the international system - The view from the third world - preferred alternatives and transition strategies.
Assignment: Kothari, Chapter 5.

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER
Political Science 3535A/5535A

Timothy Shaw
Fall, 1976
M, 7-9 P.M.

Department of Political Science
Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada

The international system has changed dramatically in the present decade; this course is intended to describe, analyse and explain progress towards, and the elusiveness of, a new world order. It will focus on the demands for, and responses to, change in international politics, economics, society and norms. In addition to a critical review of the burgeoning literature on the new world order, the course will examine the impact of several salient issues, especially uneven development, energy and raw materials, food and population, new actors and coalitions, corporations and technological transfer, pollution and the global environment, and coercive or incremental change. The course will consider normative as well as analytic problems and will concentrate on the tensions between interdependence and dependence, self-reliance and integration, autonomy and transnational imperatives; it is a response to a world of inequalities, scarcities and tensions. This is an advanced course in international politics which requires a concern with, and awareness of, global issues; it should be of interest to students of international economics, society and history or with a familiarity with Third World states and problems.

The course consists of a weekly seminar during which one particular issue will be critically discussed. Although a set of topics and readings is proposed below, this can readily be changed in response to the particular interests of participants.

The following schedule of topics and readings indicates the relevant required readings from these texts, along with additional articles and supplementary readings for particular issues.

A. Assigned Texts

Louis Rene Beres & Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet: Constructing Alternative World Futures (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1974).

Lester R. Brown, World Without Borders (New York: Vintage, 1972).

Documents on the New International Economic Order, Halifax: *Dalhousie University Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1976).*

Richard A. Falk, *This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival* (New York: Vintage 1971).

Roger D. Hansen (ed.), *The United States and World Development: Agenda for Action 1976* (New York: Praeger for Overseas Development Council, 1976).

B. Seminar Topics

Sept.	20	Theories of Development and Dependence
	27	Internal and International Inequalities
Oct.	4	Unequal External Exchange: Trade, Finance, Aid and Technology
	18	Dilemmas of Resource Depletion: Food, Energy and Population
	25	Films on the Contemporary World Order: (1) The Club of Rome; (2) Elements of Survival: People; and (3) Rich Man, Poor Man: Food
Nov.	1	Threats to the Environments: Pollution and Proliferation
	8	Interdependence and the State System: Impact of Transnational and Regional Relations
	15	Negotiation and the New International Economic Order: Implications for International Organization and the Law
	22	Interdependence or Dependence: Self-reliance or Counter-dependence
	29	Alternative Approaches to World Order Studies
Dec.	6	The Elusiveness of Concepts and Change

C. Reading List

1) Theories of Development and Dependence

Required:

Beres & Targ, 7-62.

Henry Bernstein, "Introduction: Development and the Social Sciences" and T. dos Santos, "The Crisis of Developmental Theory and the Problems of Dependence in Latin America" in Henry Bernstein (ed.), Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 13-30 and 57-80.

Aidan Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment," World Development 4(3), March 1976, 167-180.

Philip J. O'Brien, "A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency" in Ivar Oxaal et al. (eds.), Beyond the Sociology of Development (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 7-27.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "Dependence in an Interdependent World: the Limited Possibilities of Transformation Within the Capitalist World Economy," African Studies Review 17(1), April 1974, 1-26.

Supplementary:

Susanne Bodenheimer, "Dependence and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment," Politics and Society 1(3), May 1971, 327-357.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics," Comparative Politics 3(3), April 1971, 283-322.

R. S. Milne, "The Overdeveloped Study of Political Development," Canadian Journal of Political Science 5 (4), December 1972, 560-568.

Donal Cruise O'Brien, "Modernization, Order and the Erosion of a Democratic Ideal -- American Political Science, 1960-1970," Journal of Developmental Studies 8(4), July 1972, 351-378.

Raymond B. Pratt, "The Underdeveloped Political Science of Development," Studies in Comparative International Development 8(1), Spring 1973, 88-112.

Richard Sandbrook, "The 'Crisis' in Political Development Theory," Journal of Development Studies 12(2), January 1976, 165-185.

Barbara Stallings, Economic Dependence in Africa and Latin America (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972. Comparative Politics Papers Number 31).

ii) Internal and International Inequalities

Required:

Brown, 41-87.

Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds (New York: Free Press, 1975), 56-149 and 350-412.

Supplementary:

F. H. Cardosa, "The Industrial Elite in Latin America," and G. Arrighi and J. S. Saul, "Class Formation and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," in Henry Bernstein (ed.), Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 191-204 and 284-297.

Hollis Chenery et al., Redistribution with Growth (New York: Oxford University Press for IBRD, 1974).

Karl W. Deutsch, "On Inequality and Limited Growth: Some World Political Effects," International Studies Quarterly 19(4), December 1975, 381-398.

Peter Donaldson, Worlds Apart: The Economic Gulf Between Nations (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1973).

Charles Elliott, Patterns of Poverty in the Third World: A Study of Social and Economic Stratification (New York: Praeger, 1975).

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," and Giovanni Arrighi, "International Corporations, Labor Aristocracies and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," in Robert I. Rhodes (ed.), Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader (New York: Monthly Review, 1970), 4-17 and 220-267.

Roger D. Hansen, "The Emerging Challenge: Global Distribution of Income and Economic Opportunity," in James W. Howe (ed.), The United States and World Development: Agenda for Action 1975 (New York: Praeger, 1975), 157-188.

Mahbub ul Haq, The Poverty Curtain: Choices for the Third World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Helen C. Low and James W. Howe, "Focus on the Fourth World," and James W. Howe and John W. Sewell, "Triage and Other Challenges to Helping the Poor Countries Develop," in James W. Howe (ed.), The United States and World Development: Agenda for Action 1975 (New York: Praeger, 1975), 35-71.

Robert O. Matthews, "The Third World: Powerful or Powerless?" in Alkis Kontis (ed.), Domination (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 69-87.

Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen (eds.), The Development of An African Working Class: Studies in Class Formation and Action (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

Timothy M. Shaw and Malcolm J. Grieve, "Dependence or Development: International and Internal Inequalities in Africa," Development and Change 8(3), July 1977.

Robert W. Tucker, "Egalitarianism and International Politics," Commentary 60(3), September 1975, 27-40.

Barbara Ward et al. (eds.), The Widening Gap: Development in the 1970s (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

iii) Unequal External Exchange: Trade, Finance, Aid and Technology

Required:

Brown, 183-208 and 230-300.

Gerald K. Helleiner (ed.), A World Divided: The Less Developed Countries in the International Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 31-110 and 177-247.

Supplementary:

C. Fred Bergsten & Lawrence B. Krause (eds.), World Politics and International Economics (Washington: Brookings, 1975).

Richard M. Cooper (ed.), A Reordered World: Emerging International Economic Problems (Washington: Potomac, 1973).

Jagdish N. Bhagwati, "Economics and World Order: The Key Issues: in his collection on Economics and World Order: From the 1970's to the 1990's (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 1-28.

Teresa Hayter, Aid as Imperialism (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1971).

G. K. Helleiner, International Trade and Economic Development (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

G. K. Helleiner, "The Less Developed Countries and the International Monetary System," Journal of Development Studies 10 (3 & 4), April/July 1974, 347-373.

C. R. Hensman, Rich Against Poor: The Reality of Aid (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1975).

Charles P. Kindleberger (ed.), The International Corporation: A Symposium (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970).

Stephen D. Krasner, "State Power and the Structure of International Trade," World Politics 28(3), April 1976, 317-347.

Jorgen Lissner, The Politics of Altruism: A Study of the Political Behaviour of Voluntary Development Agencies (Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 1977).

Manila Declaration and Programme of Action (UNCTAD, May 1976).

Robert A. Packenham, Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973).

Cheryl Payer, The Debt Trap: The IMF and the Third World (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1974).

Richard L. Sklar, "Post-imperialism: A Class Analysis of Multinational Corporate Expansion," Comparative Politics 9(1), October 1976, 75-92.

Towards a New International Economic Order: A Further Report by a Commonwealth Experts' Group (London: March 1976).

David Wall, The Charity of Nations: The Political Economy of Foreign Aid (New York: Basic, 1973).

John White, The Politics of Foreign Aid (London: Bodley Head, 1974).

iv) Dilemmas of Resource Depletion: Food, Energy and Population

Required:

Brown, 88-110 and 132-154.

Falk, 93-104 and 132-213.

Documents, 47-62 and 78-112.

Hansen (ed.), 67-117.

Supplementary:

Lester R. Brown and Erik P. Eckholm, "Next Steps Towards Global Food Security" in James W. Howe (ed.), The United States and World Development: Agenda for Action 1975 (New York: Praeger, 1975), 72-86.

Philip Connelly & Robert Perlman, The Politics of Scarcity: Resource Conflicts in International Relations (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Susan George, How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger (London: Pelican, 1976).

James P. Grant, "Energy Shock and the Development Prospect," Roger D. Hansen, "The Politics of Scarcity," and Lester R. Brown & Erik P. Eckholm, "Food: Growing Global Insecurity," in James W. Howe (ed.) The United States and the Developing World: Agenda for Action 1974 (New York: Praeger, 1974), 31-84.

Andrew M. Kamarck, The Tropics and Economic Development: A Provocative Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins for International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1976).

Donella H. Meadows et al., The Limits to Growth (London: Pan, 1972).

Mihajlo Mesarovic & Eduard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome (New York: Signet, 1974).

Zuhayr Mikdashi, The International Politics of National Resources (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).

Krishna Roy, "Population Policy from the Southern Perspective," in Guy F. Erb & Valeriana Kallab (eds.), *Beyond Dependency: the Developing World Speaks Out* (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1975), 95-110.

Raymond Vernon (ed.), *The Oil Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1976).

Thomas G. Weiss & Robert S. Jordan, "Bureaucratic Politics and the World Food Conference: The International Policy Process," *World Politics* 28(3), April 1976, 422-439.

Thomas G. Weiss & Robert S. Jordan, *The World Food Conference and Global Problem Solving* (New York: Praeger, 1976).

v) *Threat to the Environment: Pollution and Proliferation*

Required:

Beres & Targ, 161-196 and 216-235.

Brown, 15-40.

Falk, 1-92 and 105-132.

Supplementary:

Sterling Brubaker, *To Live on Earth: Man and His Environment in Perspective* (New York: Montor, 1972).

Cynthia H. Enlow, *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective: Ecology and Power in Four Nations* (New York: McKay, 1975).

Paul R. Ehrlich *et al.*, *Human Ecology: Problems and Solutions* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1973).

Donald R. Kelley *et al.*, *The Economic Superpowers and the Environment* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1976).

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *The Arms Trade with the Third World* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1975).

Harold & Margaret Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs, with Special Reference to International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, *Only One Earth: the Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972).

vi) *Interdependence and the State System: Transnationalism, Regionalism and Sub-nationalism*

Required:

Beres & Targ, 92-109, 197-215 and 236-251.

Brown, 209-229.

Hansen (ed.), 41-66.

Documents, 113-132.

Supplementary:

David E. Apter & Louis Wolf Goodman (eds.), *The Multinational Corporation and Social Change* (New York: Praeger, 1976).

Peter F. Drucker, "Multinationals and Developing Countries: Myths and Realities," *Foreign Affairs* 53(1), October 1974, 121-134.

Johan Galtung, "Nonterritorial Actors and the Problem of Peace" in Saul H. Mendlovitz (ed.), *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (New York: Free Press, 1975), 151-188.

N. Girvan and O. Jefferson, "Corporate v. Caribbean Integration" in Henry Bernstein (ed.), *Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 341-356.

K. Helleiner (ed.), *A World Divided: The Less Developed Countries in the International Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 113-174.

Stephen Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development" in Jagdish H. Bhagwati (ed.), *Economics and World Order* (New York: MacMillan, 1972), 113-140.

Lynn Krieger Mytelka, "The Salience of Gains in Third World Integrative Systems," *World Politics* 25(2), January 1973, 236-250.

Felix Pena, "Multinational Enterprises and North-South Relations," in Guy F. Erb and Valeriana Kallab (eds.), Beyond Dependency: the Developing World Speaks Out (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1975), 57-74.

Louis Turner, Multinational Companies and the Third World (London: Allen Lane, 1974).

United Nations, The Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations (New York, 1974).

Franklin B. Weinstein, "Multinational Corporations and the Third World: The Case of Japan and Southeast Asia," International Organization 30(3), Summer 1976, 373-404.

Brian Weinstein, "Francophonie: A Language-Based Movement in World Politics," International Organization 30(3), Summer 1976, 485, 508.

vii) Negotiation and the New International Economic Order: Implications for International Organisation and Law

Required:

Brown, 301-318 and 342-364.

Hansen (ed.), v-37.

Documents, 19-46, 63-77, and 133-197.

K. Helleiner, "Introduction" and John White, "International Agencies: The Case for Proliferation," in K. Helleiner (ed.), A World Divided: The Less Developed Countries in the International Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 1-28 and 275-293.

Supplementary:

Fred C. Bergsten (ed.), The Future of the International Economic Order: An Agenda for Research (Lexington: Lexington, 1973)

Richard E. Bissell, "The 'Fourth World' at the United Nations," World Today 31(9), September 1975, 376-382.

Guy F. Erb & Valeriana Kallab (eds.), Beyond Dependency: The Developing World Speaks Out (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1975) 28-37 and 135-162.

Guy F. Erb, "Trade Initiatives and Resource Bargaining" and "Petro Dollars and Multilateral Development," and James P. Grant "The OPEC Nations: Partners or Competitors" in James W. Howe (ed.), The United States and World Development: Agenda for Action 1975 (New York: Praeger, 1975), 88-117 and 135-148.

Richard A. Falk, "The Domains of Law and Justice," International Journal 31(1), Winter 1975-6, 1-13.

K. Helleiner, "The Least Developed in the New International Economic Order: Devil Take the Hindmost?" Cooperation Canada 25, 1976, 3-13.

Branislav Gosovic, UNCTAD: Conflict and Compromise (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1972).

Fred Hirsch "Is There a New International Economic Order?" International Organization 30(3), Summer 1976, 521-532.

Roy Preiswerk, "Race and Colour in International Relations," Yearbook of World Affairs, 1970 (London: Stevens, 1970), 54-87.

John P. Renninger, "Africa and the Seventh Special General Assembly Session: Africa and the New Emerging World Order," African Studies Review 19(2), September 1976, 35-48.

Robert Rothstein, "Foreign Policy and Development Policy: From Nonalignment to International Class War," International Affairs 52(4), October 1976, 598-616.

S. P. Sinha, New Nations and the Law of Nations (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1967).

C. V. Svoboda, "The Non-Aligned Movement," International Perspectives January/February 1977, 3-9.

Jan Tinbergen (ed.), RIO: Reshaping the International Order: A Report to the Club of Rome (New York: Dutton, 1976).

David S. Wright, "United Nations Seventh Special Session: Turning-point in Dialogue with Developing Countries," International Perspectives January/February 1976, 22-25.

viii) Interdependence or Dependence: Self-Reliance or Counter-Dependence

Required:

Documents, 1-18.

Samuel L. Parmar, "Self-Reliant Development in an 'Interdependent' World," and Ali A. Mazrui, "The New Interdependence," in Guy F. Erb & Valeriana Kallab (eds.), Beyond Dependence: the Developing World Speaks Out (Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1975), 3-27 and 38-54.

Supplementary:

Catastrophe or New Society? A Latin American World Model (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1976).

Dharam P. Ghai, "Concepts and Strategies of Economic Independence," Journal of Modern African Studies 11(1), March 1973, 21-42.

Reginald H. Green, "Aspects of the World Monetary and Resource Transfer System in 1974: A View from the Extreme Periphery," in K. Helleiner (ed.), A World Divided: The Less Developed Countries in the International Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 251-273.

K. J. Holsti, "Underdevelopment and the 'Gap' Theory of International Conflict," American Political Science Review 69(3), September 1975, 827-839.

Rajni Kothari, "World Politics and World Order: The Issue of Autonomy," in Saul H. Mendlovitz (ed.), On the Creation of a Just World Order (New York: Free Press, 1975) 39-69.

J. P. Nettl and Roland Robertson, International Systems and the Modernization of Societies (London: Faber & Faber, 1968).

Clive Y. Thomas, Dependence and Transformation: The Economics of the Transition to Socialism (New York: Monthly Review, 1974).

Thomas E. Weisskopf, "Capitalism, Underdevelopment and the Future of the Poor Countries" in Jagdish N. Bhagwati, Economics and World Order: from the 1970's to the 1990's (New York: Macmillan, 1972). 43-77.

What Now? The 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Report (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975).

Alan R. Winberg, "Raw Material Producer Associations and Canadian Policy," Behind the Headlines 34(4), 1976.

ix) Alternative Approaches to World Order Studies

Required:

Beres & Targ, 63-91 and 110-143.

Brown, 321-341.

Falk, 285-445 passim.

Supplementary:

Louis Rene Beres & Harry R. Targ (eds.), Planning Alternative World Futures (New York: Praeger, 1975) passim, especially 219-275.

Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds (New York: Free Press, 1975), passim, especially 1-55 and 150-223.

Oscar Schachter, Sharing the World's Resources (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 1-34.

James P. Sewell, World Order Studies: A Critical Examination (Princeton University Center of International Studies Research Monograph No. 42, 1974).

L. S. Stavrianos, The Promise of the Coming Dark Age (San Francisco: Freeman, 1976).

Hugh Stretton, Capitalism, Socialism and the Environment (Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Harry R. Targ, "Global Dominance and Dependence, Postindustrialism and International Relations Theory: A Review," International Studies Quarterly 20(3), September 1976, 461-482.

x) The Elusiveness of Concepts and Change

Required:

Beres & Targ, 144-157.

Falk, 215-284.

Supplementary:

Seyom Brown, "The New Legitimacy" International Journal 3(1), Winter 1975-6, 14-25.

Robert W. Cox, "On Thinking About Future World Order" World Politics 28(2), January 1976, 175-199.

Richard Falk et al., First State of the Globe Report 1974 (Amsterdam: North Holland for Institute for World Order, 1975).

Richard N. Gardner, "The Hard Road to World Order" Foreign Affairs 52(3), 1974, 557-576.

Ali A. Mazrui, A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective (New York: Free Press, 1976), especially 307-328 and 437-497.

Edward L. Morse, Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations (New York: Free Press, 1976).

P.N. Rosenstein-Rodan, "The Have's and Have-not's Around the Year 2000," Josef Pajestka, "The Three Socio-economic Systems Towards the End of the 20th Century" and Jan Tinbergen "Building a World Order" in Jagdish N. Bhagwati (ed.), Economics and World Order (New York: Macmillan, 1972) 29-42, 79-99 and 141-157.

Bruce Russett, "The Rich Fifth and the Poor Half: Some Speculations About International Politics in 2000 A.D." in his Power and Community in World Politics (San Francisco: Freeman 1974) 155-170.

Oscar Schachter, Sharing the World's Resources (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 35-144, passim.

LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN WORLD POLITICS

Gary Wasserman
Fall, 1977

Department of Political Science
Columbia University
New York, NY

Using the themes of control and resistance, the course will explore the relations between the underdeveloped world and the industrialized countries. After establishing a value context for the study, we will examine competing theories characterizing these relations, two case studies of Third World political economies, and a look toward a praxis of transformation.

The second part of the course will be organized around bibliographic clusters. Each student will be expected to present in class a bibliographic essay (10-20 pages) of four to six books or articles on an arena of North-South contention, *i.e.*, energy policy, multinationals, racism in Southern Africa. The assignment will be explained more fully in class.

Grades for the course will be based on a final exam, the paper and class participation. The following books are required for the course:

Carolina Maria de Jesus, *Child of the Dark*.
Barrington Moore, Jr., *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery*.
V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism*.
Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya*.
Edward Gonzalez, *Cuba Under Castro*.
Mahbub ul Haq, *The Poverty Curtain*.

I. Introduction: Subjective Values and Objective Misery

Required Readings:
Carolina Maria de Jesus, *Child of the Dark*, pp. 32-127.
Barrington Moore, Jr., *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery*, chs. 1-3.

II. Theories of Underdevelopment: Utopias and Ideologies

A. Imperialism and Dependency

Required Readings:
A. G. Frank, "Introduction" and Chapter 1 in Cockcroft & Frank, *Dependence and Underdevelopment*.

V. I. Lenin, Imperialism.
H. Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, pp. 7-66.
Barrington Moore, Jr., Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery, ch. 5.
A. Nove, "On Reading A. G. Frank," Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3 & 4 (April-July 1974), pp. 445-55.

Supplementary Readings:
S. Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, chs. 6 & 7.
P. Jalee, Imperialism in the Seventies.
G. Kay, Development and Underdevelopment.
P. T. Bauer, "The Economics of Resentment; Colonialism and Underdevelopment," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 4, Jan. 1969, pp. 51-71.
D. S. Landes, "Some Thoughts on the Nature of Economic Imperialism," Journal of Economic History, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1961), pp. 496-512.
G. Lichtheim, Imperialism, passim.

B. Modernization
Required Readings:
G. Almond & G. P. Powell, "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems: An Overview," in Finkle & Gable, Political Development and Social Change; or W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth, chs. 1 & 2.
S. P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, ch. 1.
M. Kesselman, "Order or Movement: The Literature of Political Development as Ideology," World Politics, Vol. 26 (1973), pp. 139-54.
R. A. Packenham, Liberal America and the Third World, chs. 5-8.

Supplementary Readings:
G. Almond, S. Flanagan, & R. Mandt, Crisis Choice and Change: Historical Studies of Political Development.
D. Apter, The Politics of Modernization.
Christian Bay, "The Cheerful Science of Dismal Politics" in T. Roszak, The Dissenting Academy, pp. 208-30.
C. E. Black, ed., Comparative Modernization: A Reader.
A. O. Hirschman, "The Search for Paradigms as a Hindrance to Understanding," World Politics, Vol. 22 (April 1970), pp. 329-43.

III. Case Studies

A. Kenya

Required Readings:

- C. Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya.

Supplementary Readings:

- G. Bennett, Kenya: A Political History, The Colonial Period.
- H. Bienen, Kenya: The Politics of Participation and Control.
- O. Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru.
- C. G. Roseberg & J. Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau.
- G. Wasserman, Politics of Decolonization.

B. Cuba: The Socialist Route

Required Readings:

- R. E. Bonachea & N. P. Valdes, Cuba in Revolution, chs. 3, 5, 8, 13-15.
- E. Gonzales, Cuba Under Castro: The Limits of Charisma.

Supplementary Readings:

- R. Dumont, Cuba: Is It Socialist?
- M. Halperin, The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro.
- L. Huberman & P. Sweezy, Socialism in Cuba.
- H. Thomas, Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom.

IV. Toward a Praxis of Change

Required Readings:

- Mahbub ul Haq, The Poverty Curtain, parts 1, 3.

Supplementary Readings:

- F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth.
- G. Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty, chs. 9, 10, 11, 13.

V. Issue Clusters

A. United States and the Third World

- F. S. Arkhurst, U.S. Policy Toward Africa.
- Richard Barnet, Intervention and Revolution.
- C. F. Bergsten, The Dilemmas of the Dollar: The Economics and Politics of U.S. International Monetary Policy.
- Melvin Gurtov, The U.S. Against the Third World.
- Teresa Hayter, Aid as Imperialism.
- Pierre Jalee, Imperialism in the Seventies.
- Claude Julien, America's Empire.
- George Liska, Imperial America.
- Richard H. Ullman, "Trilateralism: Partnership for What?" Foreign Affairs, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Oct. 1976), pp. 1-20.

W. A. Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, New York: Dell Publishing, 1972.

B. *Multinational Corporations*

R. Barnet and R. Muller, *Global Reach*.

Robert W. Cox, "Labor and the Multinationals," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jan. 1976), pp. 344-65.

Robert Gilpin, *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation*.

Michael Kidron, *Foreign Investment in India*.

Charles Kindleberger, ed., *The International Corporation*.

Theodore H. Moran, *Multinational Corporations and the Politics of Dependence: Copper in Chile* (1975).

Joseph Nye & Robert O. Keohane, *Transnational Relations and World Politics*.

Hugo Radice, ed., *International Firms and Modern Imperialism*.

Lois Turner, *Multinational Companies and the Third World*.

Raymond Vernon, "Storm Over the Multinationals," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Jan. 1977), pp. 243-62.

Raymond Vernon, *Manager in the International Economy*, 3rd ed., 1976.

Carl Widstrand, ed., *Multinational Firms in Africa*.

C. *Energy*

Jonathan Baker, "Oil and African Development," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1977), pp. 175-212.

John M. Blair, *The Control of Oil*.

Barry Commoner, *The Poverty of Power*.

Philip Connelly & Robert Perlman, *The Politics of Scarcity: Resource Conflict in International Relations*.

Ford Foundation, Energy Policy Project, *A Time to Choose*.

R. K. Krueger, *The United States and International Oil*.

Amory B. Lovins, "Energy Strategy: The Road Not Taken?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Oct. 1976), pp. 65-96.

Michael Tanzer, *The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries, The Energy Crisis: World Struggle for Power & Wealth*.

Raymond Vernon, "An Interpretation," in *Daedalus*, Autumn 1975.

Mason Willich, *Energy and World Politics*.

Joseph Yager, *Energy and U.S. Foreign Policy*.

D. Southern Africa: The Politics of Racism

H. Adam, *Modernizing Racial Domination*.

John Barrett, "Southern Africa: A South African View," and John de St. Jorre, "Inside the Laager: White Power in South Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Oct. 1976), pp. 147-186.

B. Davidson, J. Slovo, & A. R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*.

C. Desmond, *The Discarded People*.

R. First, J. Steele & C. Gurney, *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid*.

S. John, "Obstacles to Guerrilla Warfare: A South African Case Study," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 11 (June 1973).

L. Kuper and M. G. Smith, *Pluralism in Africa*.

Colin Legum, "The Soviet Union, China & the West in Southern Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 745-762.

Colin Legum, *After Angola: The War Over Southern Africa*, parts 1 & 2.

L. Marguard, *The People and Policies of South Africa*.

L. Neame, *A History of Apartheid*.

A. Said & L. R. Simmons, eds., *Ethnicity in An International Context*.

E. Dependency Theory and Revolution

Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale*.

G. Arrighi and J. Saul, *Essays in the Political Economy of Africa*.

P. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth*.

A. Cabral, *The Revolution in Guinea*.

F. H. Cardoso & E. Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*.

R. Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution?*

A. G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*.

C. Guevera, *Guerrilla Warfare*.

T. R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*.

Peter Guthind & I. Wallerstein, *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*.

W. Hinton, *Fanshen*.

E. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels*.

G. Kay, *Development and Underdevelopment*.

J. Petras, ed., *Latin America from Dependence to Revolution*.

M. Rejai, ed., *Mao Tse-Tung on Revolution and War*.

E. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*.

E. ECOLOGICAL BALANCE

THE LIMITS-TO-GROWTH CONTROVERSY

David Baldwin
Fall, 1976

College Course 4
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Purpose of the Course

This course will focus on the debate over limits to growth and implications of this debate for the maintenance of world order. Political, economic, social, environmental, and individual dimensions of the problem will be explored. After setting the controversy in the context of the Western intellectual tradition, all sides to the dispute will be considered.

Required Books

Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, Multiple Vulnerabilities: The Context of Environmental Repair and Protection.
Herman Kahn, The Next 200 Years.
E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful.
J. B. Bury, The Idea of Progress.
Donella Meadows, et al., The Limits to Growth.
M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point.
Robert Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.
Rufus E. Miles, Awakening from the American Dream.

Course Requirements

Each student is expected to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned reading for that day. In addition, each student will write four papers (maximum length five pages) on various topics covered by the course. Topics will be assigned as the term progresses. Due dates are as follows:

Paper #1	October 7
Paper #2	October 21
Paper #3	November 16
Paper #4	December 2

Reading Schedule

I. Emergence and Evolution of the Idea of Progress

Sept. 23 "The Idea of Progress"
Professor Arthur Wilson
(Government Department)

J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*, pp. ix-xi, 1-216.

Sept. 28 "Nonwestern Perspectives on Progress"
Professor John Major
(History Department)

E. F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful*, pp. 1-62.
L. T. White, "The Historical Origins of Our Ecological Crisis" (handout)

Sept. 30 "The Idea of Progress in the West II"
Professor Michael Ermarth
(History Department)

J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*, pp. 217-352.

II. The Limits-to-Growth Argument

Oct. 5 Limits to Growth

Donella Meadows, *et al.*, *The Limits to Growth* (whole book).

III. Critics of Limits-to-Growth

Oct. 8 "The Economic Critique"
Professor William D. Nordhaus
Yale University

William D. Nordhaus, "Is Growth Obsolete?" (handout).
Willem Oltmans, *On Growth*, pp. 13-18, 47-50, 65-71, 93-99, 119-125, 210-215, 437-441, 216-231.
Carl Kaysen, "The Computer That Printed Out W*O*L*F" (handout).

Oct. 12 "The Economic Critique Continued"
Professor Marc Roberts
Harvard University

Peter Passell, Marc Roberts, and Leonard Ross, Review of *The Limits to Growth*, *New York Times Book Review*, April 2, 1972.
Marc Roberts, "On Reforming Economic Growth," in Mancur Olson and Hans Landsberg, eds., *The No-Growth Society*, pp. 119-137.

E. J. Mishan, "Growth and Antigrowth: What Are the Issues?" in Weintraub, Schwartz, and Aronson, eds., *The Economic Growth Controversy*, pp. 3-33.

Robert M. Solow, "Is the End of the World at Hand?" in Weintraub, Schwartz, and Aronson, eds., *The Economic Growth Controversy*, pp. 39-61.

Oct. 14 "Social Justice and LTG"
Professor Ronald Green
(Religion Department)

Ronald Green, "Inter-Generational Distributive Justice and Environmental Responsibility" (handout).

Oct. 19 Inside Critics: The Second Club of Rome Report

M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, *Mankind at the Turning Point*.

Oct. 21 Technological Optimism and Limits to Growth

Herman Kahn, *The Next 200 Years*, pp. 1-105, 163-218.

Oct. 26 "The Futurist Perspective on Growth"
Dr. Herman Kahn
The Hudson Institute

Herman Kahn, *The Next 200 Years*, pp. 106-162, 181-228.

Oct. 28 "Politics and Limits to Growth"
Professor Karl W. Deutsch
Harvard University

Karl W. Deutsch, "On Inequality and Limited Growth" (handout).

Nov. 2 Criticisms of LTG: Summary and Review

Dennis and Donella Meadows, "Limits to Growth: Its Critics and Its Challenge" (handout).

IV. Growth and Policies for the Future

Nov. 4 The Steady State Society

Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Shadow of the Stationary State" in Olson and Landsberg, eds., *The No-Growth Society*.

Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth," in Herman E. Daly, ed., Toward a Steady State Economy.

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in Herman E. Daly, ed., Toward a Steady State Economy.

Herman Daly, ed., Toward a Steady State Economy, pp. 149-173.

Nov. 9 The Third World

E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful, pp. 163-220.

John P. Lewis, "Oil, Other Scarcities, and the Poor Countries," World Politics, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Oct. 1974).

Edward J. Woodhouse, "Re-Visioning the Future of the Third World: An Ecological Perspective on Development," World Politics, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Oct. 1972).

Garrett Hardin, "Lifeboat Ethics -- The Case Against Helping the Poor."

Nov. 11 Social Organization and Limits to Growth
Dr. William Ophuls

William Ophuls, "Leviathan or Oblivion," in Herman Daly, ed., Toward a Steady State Economy.

William Ophuls, "Scarcity Society."

Nov. 16 The International System
Philippe de Seynes
Director, Programme of Futures Studies, United Nations Institute for Training and Research

Philippe de Seynes, "Prospects for a Future Whole World," International Organization, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Winter 1972).

David H. Blake and Robert S. Walters, The Politics of Global Economic Relations, pp. 154-167.

Nazli Choucri and Robert North, "The Dynamics of International Conflict."

Nov. 18 "Growth and the Human Prospect"
Robert Heilbroner
New School for Social Research

Robert Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.

Robert Heilbroner, "Growth and Survival," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (Oct. 1972).

Nov. 23 The United States
Rufus E. Miles, Jr.
Princeton University

Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Multiple Vulnerabilities: The Context of Environmental Repair and Protection*, pp. 1-66.
Rufus E. Miles, Jr., *Awakening from the American Dream*.

Nov. 30 Images of Man

Elizabeth Dodson Gray, "Masculine Consciousness and the Problem of Limiting Growth," in U.S. House of Representatives, *Hearings: Growth and Its Implications for the Future*, pp. 2009-2028.
"Changing Images of Man," in *Hearings*, pp. 1929-1975.
C. S. Lewis, "The Abolition of Man," in Herman E. Daly, ed., *Toward a Steady State Economy*, pp. 321-332.

Dec. 2 Growth Progress, and World Order

Richard A. Falk, *A Study of Future Worlds*, pp. xvii-xxvii, 1-4, 40-43, 46-52, 150-154, 282-292, 397-406, 492-494.
Jan Tinbergen, "Towards a Better International Economic Order."
Willem Oltmans, *On Growth*, pp. 26-34, 40-44, 339-348, 448-456.
William I. Thompson, *Evil and World Order*, pp. 79-111.

NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY: CONTROL AND CONFLICT
Economics 127

J. R. Barnard
Fall, 1976

Department of Economics
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

Objectives

The objectives of the course are to examine the economic issues connected with the "new scarcity" in natural resources (primary commodities) in the world economy and the application of the tools of economic analysis to the problems of market control, implications for economic growth and development, and potential conflict among nations. The course will seek to provide a synthesis of economic theory and to examine the political economy of the current issues of natural resources development and current and future trade relationships in the world economy, especially between the so-called developed and less-developed countries. It will bring students to an understanding of the role of prices in resource use and discovery, of market coalitions and strategies, of the role of technological advance, and probable market strategies and protection measures. Finally, the course will examine conflict situations among nations, the impact of cost of adjustments in consumption versus the cost of conflict, and economic policies that may influence world peace.

Grades

The final grade for the course will be based on three 1-hour and 15 minute examinations (to be announced), and a term paper on a topic selected by the student. Term paper topics and outlines should be selected and approved by the instructor by September 30, 1976.

The final grade will be determined as follows:

Examination	45%
Term paper	45%
Class participation	10%
	100%

Reading Materials and Assignments

Reading assignments marked with an * are assigned. Other materials included under the same topic heading are for further reading. It is suggested that the book by Robert L. Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect, be read completely at the beginning of the course and again toward the end of the semester.

Course Outline and Reading Assignments

1. Introduction

1.1 Survey of issues connected with natural resources in the world economy

1.2 Rapid depletion of scarce resources and intensifying competition among countries to protect access to external supplies

1.3 Commodities involved, trade relationships, and country response

* C. Fred Bergsten, "The New Era in World Commodity Markets," Challenge, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 34-42.
* "An Abundance of Shortages," Resources, January 1974, pp. 1-2.
* Robert L. Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1974.
* Stanley Brubaker, In Command of Tomorrow: Resource and Environmental Strategies for Americans. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, pp. ix-22.
* Jagdish N. Bhagwati, "Economics and World Order from the 1970's to the 1990's: the Key Issues," in Economics and World Order. New York: The Free Press, 1972.
Hans H. Landsberg, Natural Resources for U.S. Growth: A Look Ahead to the Year 2000. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965.
L. Gordon, "Limits to Growth Debate," Resources, Summer 1976.

2. Relevant Theory

2.1 Economic theory of natural resources exploitation and conservation

2.2 Oligopoly

* O. C. Herfindahl & A. V. Kneese, Economic Theory of Natural Resources. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, chs. 1-2.

* Harold Hotelling, "Economics of Exhaustible Resources," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 1931, pp. 137-152.

* Earl O. Heady, *Economics of Agricultural Production and Resource Use*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Praeger-Hall, Inc., 1952, pp. 768-781.

* Dorfman, "The Technical Basis for Decision Making," in *The Governance of Common Property Resources*.

* Mansfield, "Price and Output under Oligopoly," *Microeconomics*, ch. 11.

O. S. Goldsmith, "Market Allocation of Exhaustive Resources," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 82, Sept./Oct. 1974, pp. 1035-40.

3. Supply and Demand in the World Economy

3.1 Supply and demand of primary commodities between developed and less developed countries

3.2 Control and conflict: types of markets, market coalitions and alternative market strategies

3.3 Role of technological advancement and resource discovery

3.4 Primary commodities, inflation and growth prospects in the world economy

* University of California Food Task Force, *A Hungry World: The Challenge to Agriculture*. Division of Agriculture Sciences, University Of California, Berkley, CA, 1974.

* Raymond F. Mikesell, "More Third World Cartels Ahead," *Challenge*, Vol. 18, No. 4, (Sept./Oct. 1975), pp. 49-54.

* Bergsten, "The New Era in World Commodity Markets," *Challenge*, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 34-42.

Victor Perlo, "Behind the U.S.-OPEC Conflict," *Challenge*, Vol. 18, No. 4, (Sept./Oct. 1975), pp. 49-54.

* Simon Strauss, "Why Commodity Cartels Won't Work," *Business Week*, June 30, 1975, pp. 20-22.

* N. W. Cornell, "Manganese Nodule Mining and Economic Rent," *Natural Resources Journal*, Vol. 14, Oct. 1974, pp. 519-31.

* Rosenstein-Rodan, "The Haves and the Have Nots Around the Year 2000," in Jagdish N. Bhagwati, *Economics and World Order*.

Hans H. Landsberg, *Natural Resources for U.S. Growth*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964.

"Research to Multiply Food Production: Was Matthus Right?," *Business Week*, June 16, 1975.

"U.S. Food Power: Ultimate Weapon in World Politics," *Business Week*, December 15, 1975.

James F. McDivitt and Gerald Manners, Minerals and Men. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964.

S. Okita, "Natural Resources Dependency and Japanese Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 52, July 1974, pp. 714-24.

Gale D. Johnson, World Food Problems and Prospects. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1975.

C. Fred Bergsten, "A New OPEC in Bauxite," Challenge, Vol. 19, No. 3, (July/August, 1976), pp. 12-20.

Harold O. Carter, "World and U.S. Food Trends: A Current Perspective for Policy," in William Fellner, ed., AEI Studies on Contemporary Economic Problems. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1976.

* Richard N. Cooper & Robert Z. Lawrence, "The 1972-75 Commodity Boom," Brookings Paper on Economic Activity, Vol. 3, 1975, pp. 671-715.
* H. B. Chenery, "Restructuring the World Economy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 53, pp. 242-63.

4. Adjustment to Resource Scarcity

4.1 Specific conflict situations among nations

4.2 Cost of adjustment vs. cost of conflict

4.3 Mechanisms and arrangements to reduce conflict

4.4 Problems, policy and implications for a viable future world economy

* Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect.
* Emile A. Nakhleh, Arab-American Relations in the Persian Gulf. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.
* W. J. Levy, "World Oil Co-operation or International Chaos," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 52, July 1974, pp. 690-713.
* Brubaker, In Command of Tomorrow, chs. 4, 5, 7, 8.
* Davies, "How Does the Agenda Get Set?" in The Governance of Common Property Resources.

Edward J. Mitchell, Dialogue on World Oil. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1974.

Kenneth E. Boulding, Collected Papers (Vol. 5), International Systems: Peace, Conflict Resolution and Politics. Boulder, CO: Colorado Associated Press, 1975.

INTRODUCTION TO ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS
Government and Politics 273

H. V. Harrison
Spring, 1977

Department of
Government and Politics
University of Maryland
College Park, MD

A new course offered for the first time this semester, this is a general survey of the major dimensions of the environmental crisis, with chief emphasis on such phenomena as overpopulation, resource scarcity, and environmental pollution.

Special attention will be given to these problems as objects of public policy, both national and international, and to the interrelationships among the environmental energy, and general economic requirements of the present-day society.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Instructional Procedures

Instruction will be primarily in lecture form by the instructor, although voluntary and spontaneous student participation will be encouraged, including discussion of current and on-going events and developments of sufficient relevance to environmental matters, including the energy crisis.

Requirements of the Course

In addition to regular class attendance, students will be expected to fulfill the following formal requirements:

1) Mid-Term Examination
2) Written Term Report (see details below)
3) Final Examination

Nature of Examinations

The mid-term examination will be based on the textbooks prescribed in the course, or at least primarily so.

The final examination will be based on the course texts but mainly on the class lectures and discussions, which will emphasize current and on-going events and developments in the field, and on whatever other sources are relevant.

All examination questions will be completely essay or discussion in type, always with some options, though occasionally with certain required questions.

Nature of Written Report

The written report may be either:

1) A research paper dealing with some topic appropriate to the general subject matter of the course;
2) A report based on an individual or group project of a practical and activist nature dealing with some real-life aspect of the contemporary environmental scene, including energy;
3) A report on a series of articles or essays, normally 8 to 10 in number, dealing with the same or similar subject;
4) A report comprised of reviews of two books on the subject matter of the course (not including any of the textbooks used in the course); or
5) Any type of project that meets with the approval of the instructor.

Whichever form this report takes, it will be expected to deal with some aspect of the "Environmental Crisis," which includes the energy problem. Book reports are expected to be primarily devoted to a summary or resume of the books under review, or an elaboration of the books' central theme or themes, although such reports should be made as critical and analytical as possible, including at least some comments, observations, and evaluations concerning the significance and value of the books. All reports, book and otherwise, should approximate 10-15 pages in length, typewritten, double spaced, or the equivalent.

Special Features of the Course

As noted above, the method of instruction will be primarily a combination of lectures and class discussion, especially on current and on-going day-to-day events and developments in the environmental and energy fields. Some guest lecturers from the academic community, industry, environmental and public interest groups and organizations, and the government will also be engaged to make presentations to the class. Also, as mentioned previously, individual and group projects of a practical and activist nature dealing with some real-life aspects of the environmental picture. will be included in the course requirements, the intent of which is to relate the course as far as possible to the real world of practice and policy in environmental, including energy, matters, including the role of public officials and bodies, of private industry, and of the consuming public.

Textbooks in Course (All available in paperback)

Enthoven, Alain C., and Freeman, A. Myrick III, eds., Pollution, Resources, and the Environment. N.Y.: Norton, 1974.

Gray, Elizabeth and David, and Martin, William F., Growth and Its Implications for the Future. Dinosaur Press. 1975.

Pirages, Dennis C., and Ehrlich, Paul R., Ark II: Social Response to Environmental Imperatives. N.Y.: Viking Press, 1974.
Roelofs, Robert T., Crowley, Joseph N., and Hardesty, Donald L., eds., Environment and Society: A Book of Readings on Environmental Policy, Attitudes, and Values. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.
Wenner, Lettie M., One Environment Under Law: A Public-Policy Dilemma. N.Y.: Goodyear, 1976.

Note: Although the books listed above are technically designated as textbooks, they are more properly general reference books, designed to provide students with the necessary general background or framework for comprehending better the matters addressed in class of an essentially current and on-going nature.

GENERAL SCOPE AND CONTENT OF COURSE

Rationale. In view of the environmental crisis in the United States and around the world, including the energy crisis, natural resource scarcity, the world food crisis, the population explosion, and the various forms of environmental deterioration and pollution, not to mention the many economic and social breakdowns in society caused by such environmental hazards, the attention of both the general public and the public-policy makers has turned dramatically in recent years to the subject matter of this course on "environmental politics." Such a course as the one described herein can make a substantial contribution to a more enlightened public opinion and more intelligent public policy-making in the years ahead.

This course will involve a comprehensive overview of, and introduction to, the complex set of environmental issues, institutions, practices, and policies found in the present-day society. To be discussed will be the wide variety of matters which constitute the historical, social, economic, technological, philosophical, psychological, and, most importantly for the main purpose of this course, the political dimensions of environmental problems. [Note that for the purposes of this course, as well as others on "environmental politics," the term "environment" is defined broadly so as to encompass such matters as the impact of science and technology on man's physical environments, excessive population growth and congestion, natural resource abuse and scarcity (e.g., energy, food, minerals and other raw materials, water, fertilizer), and environmental deterioration, including the various forms of pollution, as well as the economic, social, and psychological problems which are generated, at least in large part, by the imbalances arising from the socio-economic disruptions in recent times caused by abnormal convolutions and debilitating distortions in man's physical or natural environment.]

Major emphasis will be placed on the ecological or environmental problems that are prevalent in the United States, though they are generally present in varying degrees in other countries as well, and will be so treated. Attention will be focused on the problems and their historical background as a matter of achieving the clearest and most complete identification of the problems and their nature, and on the corrective measures necessary to deal effectively with such problems, particularly as they relate to the formulation and implementation of public policy--ranging all the way from the local level of government through the comparative and international levels, though the principal emphasis will be put on the problem of maintaining a high level of "environmental quality" in the U.S. In the complex and interdependent society of today's world, the major thrust of dealing with the multifaceted and interrelated range of environmental problems will of necessity come in the political arena.

From the topical standpoint, and in the matter of policy-solving measures, particular attention will be given to such matters as population control measures, resource management, allocation, and conservation, and ecological restoration and preservation (usually called "environmental protection"), all designed of course to enhance the "quality of life." Quite properly, it will be noted, too, that the root causes of many of today's economic and social problems, including inflation and recession, as well as many social maladjustments such as maldistribution of wealth, poverty, hunger, and a great variety of other social injustices and inequities--both in the United States and abroad--can be traced in no small measure to the disruptions and dislocations in the normal scheme of life brought on by the deterioration and debasement, in a great variety of ways, of mankind's physical and social environment.

Although environmental problems transcend, in most cases, local, state, and even national boundary lines, and efforts at their solution require extensive cooperation, coordination, and collaboration among the different jurisdictional levels, special attention will be given to these problems as they exist and as they can be corrected at the various levels of political or governmental organization.

Since the ecological imperatives of our time bring seriously into question the viability of the existing forms of both national and international political organization, as well as the forms of economic and social organization, attention will be given throughout the course to the kinds of institutional and legal framework which will be required at the various levels of the public policy-making process to make the multifaceted environmental problems manageable; and to insure, at the same time, at least a minimum public order in the effectuation of rather stringent measures which would be both economically acceptable and technologically feasible.

This course will also address the question of the potential impact of effective environmental measures--or perhaps the absence of such--on personal freedoms and democracy itself. Can man's physical environment be preserved so as to assure the survival of humankind without a serious, perhaps fatal, erosion of the personal liberties so essential to democratic societies?

In like manner, the matter of a transformation in existing life-styles naturally arises in the environmental context. What moral, perhaps even religious, implications can be drawn from environmental problems, issues, and solutions? To what extent will a new "social ethic" have to be adopted if man's environmental constraints are to be satisfactorily adjusted to?

Throughout the course, especially in the latter part, emphasis will be placed on the current and ongoing day-to-day events and developments, both national and international, on the environmental front, especially as they relate to the problem of devising a set of rational, coherent, comprehensive, and long-range environmental policies that would best serve the general public in this country and the world.

In view of the present depressed economy of the United States (which is worse in most of the rest of the world) and the problems encountered today in providing sufficient supplies of energy for the country, the course will make a special effort to show how the economic and energy requirements of the nation are--and should be--related to, coordinated and reconciled with the highest possible levels of environmental quality.

Finally, and looking especially to the future, particular attention will be given to the views and objectives of the incoming Carter administration on environmental matters, insofar as they can now be determined, and to the prospects for the development of viable environmental policies by the new leadership in the U.S. Government.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Human Ecology and Social Sciences, 790:613

David J. Rosen
Fall, 1976

Human Ecology and Social Sciences
Cook College, Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

This course will focus on the interactions between man (and woman) and the physical environment in the context of international politics. Human activities which impact on the environment will be examined, as well as the consequent environmental disruptions which influence, encourage, and constrain subsequent political responses. Issues of resource dependency, distribution and scarcity will also be examined.

Political responses to environmental conditions will be analyzed comparatively and at the international/global level. The influences of ideology, culture and development on political response mechanisms will be studied as well as the adequacy and effectiveness of international political institutions.

The course will employ an ecological perspective and, accordingly, the readings have been drawn from the physical and biological sciences, economics, philosophy and other fields in addition to political science.

The following books will be used extensively:

Lester R. Brown, By Bread Alone. N.Y.: Praeger, 1974. (hereafter: Brown)
John Lawrence Hargrove, ed., Who Protects the Ocean? Environment and the Development of the Law of the Sea. St. Paul, MN: West, 1975. (hereafter: Hargrove)
Donald R. Kelley, Kenneth R. Stunkel, and Richard R. Wescott, The Economic Superpowers and the Environment. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976. (hereafter: Kelley)
Amory B. Lovins, World Energy Strategies. N.Y.: Ballinger, 1975. (hereafter: Lovins)
Donella H. Meadows, et al., The Limits to Growth. N.Y.: Signet, 1972. (hereafter: Meadows)
Leonard Mosley, Power Play. Baltimore: Penguin, 1974. (hereafter: Mosley)

COURSE OUTLINE

9/15 Introduction

9/22 *The Human Condition in an Ecological Perspective*

Sprout and Sprout, *Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth*. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971, pp. 13-31. (hereafter: Sprout)
Kelley, pp. 1-40.
Corning, "The Biological Bases of Behavior and Some Implications for Political Science," *World Politics*, April 1974.
White, "The Historical Roots of our Ecologic Crisis," in Jackson, *Man and His Environment*, pp. 22-31. (hereafter: Jackson)
Genesis 1:26.

9/29 *Cross-National Inventory of Environmental Constraints*

Kelley, pp. 41-123.
Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, 162, 1968, pp. 1243, or in
Daly, ed., *Toward a Steady-State Economy*, Freeman, 1973, pp. 133-148. (hereafter: Daly)
Crowe, "The Tragedy of the Commons Revisited," in Roos, *The Politics of Ecosuicide*, pp. 29-40. (hereafter: Roos)
D'Amato, "The Politics of Eco-Suicide," in Roos, pp. 11-28.

10/6 *Political Perception and Reaction to Environmental Constraints*

Kelley, pp. 124-196.
Enloe, *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective*. McKay, 1975, pp. 11-75. (hereafter: Enloe)

10/23 *Governmental Responses to Environmental Constraints*

Kelley, pp. 197-265.
Enloe, pp. 145-263.

10/20 *On Growth I*

Meadows, entire book.
Beckerman, *Two Cheers for the Affluent Society*. St. Martin's, 1976, pp. 1-92.
Weinblatt, "System Dynamics: Caveat Haruspex."

10/27 *On Growth II*

Galtung, "Limits to Growth and Class Politics," *Journal of Peace Research*, 10, 1973.

Georgescu-Rogen, "The Entropy Law and Economic Problems," in Daly, pp. 37-49.
Schumacher, "Buddhist Economics," in Daly, pp. 231-238.
Chen, "The Political Economics of Population Growth: The Case of China," *World Politics*, January 1971.
Oltmans, On Growth: *The World's Leading Thinkers on the Crisis of the Population Explosion & the Exhaustion of Resources*. Putnam, 1976, pp. 1-6 (U Thant), 26-34 (Toynbee), 65-71 (Kaysen), 119-125 (Nordhaus), 192-197 (Strong), 216-231 (Forrester), 284-291 (Chomsky), 291-299 (Clark), 313-326 (Kahn), 334-338 (Marcuse), 385-390 (Rawls), 448-456 (Falk).

11/3 Man, Resources and International Politics

Sprout, pp. 268-297.
Cloud, "Mineral Resources in Fact and Fancy," in Daly, pp. 50-74.
Okita, "Natural Resource Dependency and Japanese Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1974.
Perlman, "Is the World Running out of Natural Resources?" *International Affairs*, July 1974.

11/10 Energy: Global Constraints, Alternatives and Strategies

Lovins, entire book.
Pollack, "Economic Consequences of Energy Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1974.
Rosen and Messing, "U.S. Energy Policy in an Ecological Perspective."
Siddall, "The Future Distribution of Global Demand for Energy as a Potential for International Tension."
Simonet, "Energy and the Future of Europe," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1975.

11/17 Energy: The Nuclear Option

Cahn, "Determinants of the Nuclear Option: The Case of Iran."
Stevenson, "Nuclear Reactors: America Must Act," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1974.
Weinberg, "Nuclear Energy: Prelude," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1971.

11/24 Energy: Oil and International Politics

Mosley, entire book.
Griffith, "The Fourth Mid-East War, The Energy Crisis and U.S. Policy," *Orbis*, Winter, 1974.

Mikdashi, "Cooperation Among Oil Exporting Countries," International Organization, Winter, 1974.

12/1 The Oceans, Law of the Sea, and International Politics

Hargrove, entire book.
Hollick, "What Can We Expect From a Sea Treaty?" Foreign Policy, Spring, 1975.
Scott, "Fisheries, Pollution and Canadian-American Transnational Relations," International Organization, Autumn, 1974.

12/8 Food, Hunger and International Politics

Brown, entire book.
Mayer, "Coping with Famine," Foreign Affairs, October 1974.
Schertz, "World Food Prices and the Poor," Foreign Affairs, April 1974.
Rosenfield, "The Politics of Food," Foreign Policy, Spring, 1974.
Billo/Brown, "An Exchange on Food," Foreign Policy, Spring, 1974.

12/15 Stockholm, UNEP and International Politics

Engfeldt, "The United Nations and the Human Environment," International Organization, Summer, 1973.
Kenny, "The Stockholm Conference," International Affairs, July 1972.
Strong, "One Year After Stockholm," Foreign Affairs, July 1973.
Woodhouse, "Re-Visioning the Future of the 3rd World: An Ecological Perspective on Development," World Politics, October 1972.

F. VALUES CLARIFICATION/INQUIRY

WORLD ORDER AND CONFLICTING VALUES
Religion 131

James McCue
Spring, 1977

School of Religion
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

In this course we shall deal with certain basic questions about values. What are the sources of an individual's and a society's values? Are there values common to all human beings, or are all values limited to the perspectives of a particular nation, class, time? What degree of common understanding is there for such words as "freedom," justice," development," "peace," "democracy?" To what degree is social conflict the cause, to what degree is it the result of conflicting values?

We shall then direct our attention more specifically to some of the concerns of "world order" literature: human rights, economic development, social justice, peace, and ecological balance. With each of these issues we shall be concerned to understand the values implicit in the contending viewpoints.

The readings consist mainly of journal articles and sections from books, so the course will depend heavily on the reserve shelf. In addition, each student will be assigned one of the several general books on world order. The student will write a number of short papers. No exams. Registration for pass-fail is encouraged.

The dates listed are only approximate, and will have to be revised from time to time as the course develops.

Jan. 12	Introduction. Description of course. Meaning of "values" and "world order."
Jan. 14 16	Discussion of issues raised by papers on "the good human being," "the good society."
Jan. 17	What are the sources of human values? We shall consider in class several different answers to this question. Peter Berger.
Jan. 19	- - -S. Freud.
Jan. 21	- - -A. Maslow.

Jan. 24	- - -K. Marx, H. Marcuse.
Jan. 26	- - -A. Camus, S. Weil.
Jan. 28	Are there common human values?
Feb. 2	Film: "Interviews with Five My Lai Veterans."
Feb. 4	What does it mean to talk about a society's values? How are they to be formed?
Feb. 7	What are the meanings of certain basic value terms? The focus will be on some of the terms commonly found in world order literature, and the purpose of analysis will be to explore the ways in which these terms are understood and ranked within the differing perspectives of rich and poor, Marxism and liberal democracy. Justice.
Feb. 9	- - -Freedom.
Feb. 11	- - -Democracy, participation.
Feb. 14	- - -Peace.
Feb. 16	- - -Development.
Feb. 18	The self, its values, and its communities. The focus here will be on the question whom do I value and why. Whose well-being is important to me? The point will not be who it is that I ought to value, but to consider instead what communities are in fact important to us. For whom and toward whom do we (do people at large) consider ourselves responsible? The self: self-fulfillment as a value.
Feb. 21	- - -The small group of significant others.
Feb. 23	- - -The state. Violence and order.
Feb. 25	- - -The state and the problem of meaning in life.
Feb. 28	- - -Entire human race. "Global humanism;" global citizenship. Future generations.
March 2	Conflicting values and conflicting allegiances: ethics and politics.
March 4	The same continued.
March 7	World order literature. The class will be divided into five groups, each of which will present to the

class as a whole an analysis of one of the following books: Richard Falk, This Endangered Planet. N.Y.: Random House, 1972.

March 9	- - -M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point. N.Y.: E. P. Dutton, 1974.
March 11	- - -Rajni Kothari, Footsteps into the Future. N.Y.: Free Press, 1975.
March 14	- - -Robert Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect. N.Y.: Norton, 1974.
March 16	- - -To be announced.
March 18	Film: "The Widening Gap."
March 28	Value issues, value conflicts in selected world order problems. The meanings and ambiguities of "development," "underdevelopment."
March 30	Models of development; alternative conceptions of the human condition.
April 1	Continued.
April 4	The debate about economic growth: its necessity.
April 6	- - -Its impossibility.
April 8	Differing analysis of underdevelopment: natural or criminal. Values implicit in the analyses.
April 11	The environment crisis: a luxury for the rich?
April 13	Energy policy and conflicting values.
April 15	Population policy as a problem of values.
April 18	Two films: "Hiroshima - Nagasaki," "An Essay on War."
April 20	What values "justify" war?
April 22	Continued.
April 25	Values and pessimism. Supposing that the doomsayers are right, then what?
April 27	Values and optimism. Supposing that they are wrong, then what?
April 29	Catch-up time.
May 2	Catch-up time.

Writing Assignments

Due	
Jan. 14	Utopian pieces. Write up *briefly* how you would characterize a good human being, the good society. Since this is due the second day of class it will necessarily be very tentative, and should not be more than a couple of pages in length. *Ungraded*.
Feb. 4	Which of the writers on the sources of values comes closest to expressing your own views? Which of the writers is (are) farthest from or least sympathetic to your views? (This paper will require that you address the question of the sources of human values yourself, and that you relate your thoughts to what we have read.) (Approximately 5 pages.)
Feb. 18	What do you mean by "freedom," "justice," *or* "democracy," and how does your understanding of the word relate to the various senses explored in class and in the readings? (Approximately 3 pages.)
Mar. 7	What in your judgment is the role of ethics in political life? What should it be? How do your views relate to the readings and class discussion? (Approximately 4 pages.)
Mar. 18	A descriptive and evaluative report on the world order book assigned. (Approximately 5 pages.)
Apr. 8	Analyze what you have read of the debate between advocates and opponents of economic growth. Is each side fair to the other? In what ways is this a conflict of values? What seems to you the most advisable policy and why? (4 pages.)
Apr. 22	What, according to R. Aron and the film "An Essay on War" are the values people seek through war and war preparation? Do these values seem to you trivial or important? (4 pages.)
May 2	What are the most important things you have learned in this course? *Ungraded*.

Reading List

The following readings will be found on the reserve shelf in the main library. The dates given are the dates by which the material should be read.

Jan. 17	Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality*. N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966, pp. 85-96, 119-127; or Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*. N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969, pp. 3-28.
Jan. 19	S. Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*. N.Y.: Norton, pp. 69-92. (you may also wish to consider Talcott Parsons, "The Superego and the Theory of Social Systems," in *Working Papers*, N.Y.: International Publishing Service, pp. 13-28.)
Jan. 21	A. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being*. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1968, pp. 149-185.
Jan. 24	Karl Marx, "The German Ideology," selections, in L. Easton and K. Guddat, eds., *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, N.Y.: Doubleday, pp. 404-415, 438-440. Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955, pp. 85-91. *Essay on Liberation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969, pp. 3-17.
Jan. 26	Albert Camus, *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt*. N.Y.: Random House, 1956, chapter one. Simone Weil, "Draft for a Statement of Human Obligations," in *Selected Essays, 1934-43*, London, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 219-227. (you may also wich to look at Lawrence Metcalf, *Values Education*, pp. 61-71.)
Jan. 28	Everett Hagen, "Are Some Things Valued by all Men?" in *Cross Currents*, 18, 1968, pp. 406-414. Clyde Kluckhohn, "Ethical Relativity," *Journal of Philosophy*, 52, 1955, pp. 663-677. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (will be distributed to class).
Feb. 4	Cora Du Bois, "The Dominant Value Profile of American Culture," in *American Anthropologist*, 57, 1955, pp. 1232-1239.
Feb. 7	Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. III, ch. 7-9; Bk. VI, ch. 2.

Walter Kaufmann, "An Attack on Distributive Justice," in Without Guilt and Justice. N.Y.: Dell, 1975, pp. 66-96.

Feb. 9 Isaiah Berlin, Two Concepts of Liberty; the same in Four Essays on Liberty. N.Y.: Oxford Press, 1969, pp. 118-172.

K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, sections one and two.

M. Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. (selections)

Feb. 18 G. Marcel, Homo Viator: Introduction to a Metaphysic of Hope. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1962, pp. 129-133.

Feb. 21 M. Mayeroff, On Caring. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1972, pp. 1-65.

P. Berger, "A Tale of Two Moralities," in Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics & Social Change. N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976, pp. 190-197.

Feb. 23 T. Hobbes, Leviathan, Bk. I, ch. 13.

J. Locke, Second Treatise of Civil Government, ch. 9.

R. Alter, "Zionism for the 70's," Commentary, Feb. 1970, vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 47-57.

Feb. 25 R. Aron, Peace and War. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973, pp. 416-420.

F. Nietzsche, Will to Power (ed. W. Kaufman), pp. 12-16.

R. Gonzalez, I Am Joaquin. N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1972.

Feb. 28 M. P. Golding, "Obligations to Future Generations," Monist, 56, 1972, pp. 85-99. (Somewhat similar: D. Callahan, "What Obligations Do We Have to Future Generations?" American Ecclesiastical Review, 164, 1971, pp. 265-280.)

Mar. 2 R. Neibuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society. N.Y.: Scribner's, 1932, chs. 4, 9, 10.

Mar. 4 P. Berger, "Political Ethics--in Quest of a Method," in Pyramids of Sacrifice, pp. 215-228.

A. Schlesinger, "The Necessary Amorality of Foreign Affairs," Harpers, August 1971, pp. 72-77.

W. Levi, "The Relative Irrelevance of Moral Norms in International Politics," in J. N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, N.Y.: Free Press, 1969, pp. 191-198.

Mar. 28 Studs Terkel, Working. N.Y.: Avon Books, 1975, pp. 168-174, 333-340.

	R. Coles, Old Ones of New Mexico. N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975, pp. 2-36. D. Goulet, "Ethical Issues in Development," in Review of Social Economy, 24, 1968, pp. 97-117.
Mar. 30	Julius Nyrere, "Education for Self-Reliance," in Cross Currents, 18, 1968, pp. 415-434. E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1973, pp. 50-58, 154-160. Paul T. K. Lin, "Development Guided by Values: Comments on China's Road and its Implications," in Saul Mendlovitz, ed., On the Creation of a Just World Order. N.Y.: Free Press, 1975, pp. 259-296.
Apr. 1	G. Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations. N.Y.: Pantheon, 1968, Bk. I, ch. 2.
Apr. 4	Herman Daly, ed., Toward a Steady-State Economy. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973, Introduction.
Apr. 6	Wilfred Beckerman, Two Cheers for the Affluent Society: A Spirited Defense of Economic Growth. N.Y.: St. Martin's, 1976, pp. 11-36.
Apr. 8	Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1974, pp. 21-39; or Andre Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. N.Y.: Monthly Review Press, 1969, pp. 1-20, 145-150. W. Rostow, Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto. N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
Apr. 11	R. Neuhaus, In Defense of People. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1971, pp. 9, 162-201.
Apr. 15	Garrett Hardin, "Stimulus/Response; Lifeboat Ethics: The Case Against Helping the Poor," in Psychology Today, 8, Sept. 1974, p. 38ff. Judith Miller, "The Politics of Population," in The Progressive, 39, Jan. 1975, pp. 25-29; or P. Henriot and W. Ryan, "Opposing Views on Population," in Worldview, 18, Feb. 1975, pp. 39-42. H. Bekele, "False Prophets of Doom," UNESCO Courier, 27, July-Aug. 1974, pp. 42-45. H. Suyin, "Family Planning in China," UNESCO Courier, 27, July-Aug. 1974, pp. 52-55.
Apr. 20	Raymond Aron, Peace and War, chs. 1-3, 11.

VALUES EDUCATION

Jack Nelson
Spring, 1977

Rutgers Graduate School
of Education
New Brunswick, NJ

Required Readings:

Drews, Elizabeth & Lipson, Leslie, *Values and Humanity*. New York: St. Martin's, 1971.
Lynd, Robert, *Knowledge for What?* New York: Evergreen, 1964.
Rich, John, *Education and Human Values*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1968.
Peters, R. S., *Ethics and Education*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, 1966.
Wilson, John, *Introduction to Moral Education*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1967.
Nelson, Jack, *Introduction to Value Inquiry*. Rochelle Park, NJ: Hayden, 1974. *Values and Society*. Hayden, 1975.
Metcalf, Lawrence, *Values Education*. Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1971.
Raths, Louis, *et al.*, *Values and Teaching*. Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1966.
Superka, Douglas, *Values Education Sourcebook*. Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1976.
Phi Delta Kappan, June, 1975 issue.

Reserve Room Readings:

Hartshorne & May, *Studies in Deceit*. New York: Macmillan, 1930.
Smith, H. L., *Character Education: A Survey of Practices*. NEA & Palmer Foundation.
Ed. Policies Commission, *Moral & Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.
Bower, W., *Moral & Spiritual Values in Education*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1952.
Palmer, G., *Ethical & Moral Instruction in Schools*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.
Sabakian, W., *Systems of Ethics & Value Theory*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1963.
Rescher, N., *Introduction to Value Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
Meehan, E., *Value Judgment & Social Science*. New York: Dorsey Press, 1969.
Hare, R., *Freedom & Reason*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
Wilson, J., *Moral Education & The Curriculum*. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon, 1969.

Wilson, J., *et al.*, *Introduction to Moral Education*. Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1967.

Handy, R., *Value Theory & The Behavioral Sciences*. Springfield, IL: Thomas, 1969.

Dahlke, O., *Values in Culture & Classroom*. New York: Harper, 1958.

Course Outline:

Class	Subject	Readings
1.	Values Inquiry as an Approach to the Study of Values Education	Nelson, *Introduction to Value Inquiry*.
2.	Nature of Values (Definitions)	Drews & Lipson, Ch. 1, 2, 3; Lynd, Ch. 1, 5.
3.	Values and American Society (Developing Hypotheses)	Lynd, Ch. 2, 3. Nelson, *Values and Society*.
4.	Values and Education (Developing Hypotheses)	Rich, Ch. 1, 2, 3. Peters, Ch. 1, 2.
5.	Values and Moral Education (Definitions, Gathering Evidence)	Wilson, all. Peters, Ch. 3-7, 10.
6.	Approaches to Values Education (Gathering Evidence)	Superka, as needed.
7.	Approaches to Values Education: Inculcation	Superka, Ch. 2 Reserve Materials
8.	Approaches to Values Education: Moral Development	Superka, Ch. 3 Kohlberg--on reserve.
9.	Approaches to Values Education: Analysis	Superka, Ch. 4; Metcalf, all; Nelson, review.
10.	Analysis	Scriven--on reserve Peters, Ch. 8, 9.
11.	Values Inquiry Practices	Exercises
12.	Approaches to Values Education: Classification	Raths, all. Simon--on reserve.
13.	Current Issues in Values Education (Drawing Conclusions)	Phi Delta Kappan
14.	Workshop in Values Education Practices	

ETHICAL STRATEGIES FOR A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

David Rosenberg
Winter, 1976

Department of
Political Science
Middlebury College
Middlebury, VT

Moderators:

Steven Rockefeller, Department of Religion, Middlebury College
Andy Reding, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
Jean Rosenberg, Department of Economics, University of Vermont

Preface:

> "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"
>
> ---Matthew 16:26

Introduction:

"It is now abundantly clear," says Theodore Hesburgh, "that the future welfare of all mankind cannot be secured without an unprecedented degree of global cooperation." Both the rich and the poor countries have come to realize that they are dependent on an international economy to ensure their material well-being, and indeed on a common ecosystem to sustain life itself. For countless millions of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans, this precarious dependence is a matter of survival, not just well-being.

There is a new term for this understanding of our common dependency: global interdependence. It is a thought and a theme that runs counter to many of the shibboleths of the past--nationalism, ethnocentricism, racism, rugged individualism--and even to the Declaration of Independence, whose 200th anniversary we now celebrate.

The concept of interdependence arose in response to the new and unprecendented explosions of technology, bureaucratic organization, and material production that have burst upon the world in modern times. This global perspective represents a modern look at the world. There are, in fact, few serious human problems we face today whose impact is not global and which, therefore, require global solutions.

Global solutions presuppose a global community, but what is a global community? This is an ancient and enduring question with many conflicting responses. According to ancient Greek thought, all people were united by a universal essence, but only in a small community--the polis--could this essence and unity be realized. Rousseau also contended that a global community could only be realized on the basis of small, self-sufficient communities in which all citizens could meet regularly in a single assembly. Even in today's interdependent world, we can see several attempts to recreate this type of community: Auroville in India, Findhorn in Scotland, and Lindesfarne in the United States.

The opposite vision of a global community is found in the Stoic and Roman idea of the cosmic polis--the cosmopolis--a universal political order for the universal human community. This idea has been manifested, in varying degrees, in the Roman Empire, the medieval Catholic Church, the Communist Internationale, and the United Nations.

For the past two centuries, however, the basic unit of human identity and loyalty has been the nation-state. Hegel, Marx, Hamilton, and Madison all came to agree that the nation-state provided greater reality and value than smaller or larger communities. The polis was too small to be economically viable, militarily defensible, or culturally diversified, they asserted. The macropolis was too large, too oppressive and too presumptuous an institution to govern the whole globe. "The nation," wrote Hegel, was "the Divine Idea as it exists on earth."

In 1776, Adam Smith wrote an economic prescription for this political ideology, significantly titled An Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations. Combining nationalism with materialism and individual competition, he argued that the pursuit of individual self-interest in a competitive market economy would lead to the greatest social good. Contemporary corporate industrial systems have succeeded far beyond Smith's expectations in producing material wealth. However, this type of progress has also brought destruction and disillusionment. Fostered by a new social awareness of the full costs of national industrialization, many people have begun to speculate: What are the physical, social, and moral limits to progress or growth? Is universal prosperity possible, and if so, would it lead to peace? Can material goods provide spiritual value? Are the early industrializing values of individualism, efficiency, materialism, and progress still appropriate in a complex, interdependent, global society? These immediate questions are also the eternal questions: What relationship exists between goods and the good life? Is there any other source of order other than power? How can we find a "wisdom to match our sciences?"

APPROACH:

In this course, we will attempt to understand these questions by examining the general concept of global community at three levels of analysis: the environmental, the social, and the individual. At each level, we will examine the ethical alternatives, or strategies, for a global community. Our approach is as follows:

1. General formulation of the concept of global community:

All societies are inherently hierarchical. All must find a balance between 1) organizational and technological requirement for coordination and control, and 2) individual and social needs for identity and community. The central question is how should human diversity be organized in a global community?

2. Environmental Ethics:

We are told that infinite material growth is impossible in a world of finite resources. But others say that virtually infinite resources may be available, if not yet accessible, in our solar system. How should we regard our natural environment: as a source of infinite material goods or as a system of biophysical equilibrium?

3. Social organization:

In an increasingly interdependent world of finite resources, if some of us consume more, others, of necessity, must consume less. Given the inherent dangers in the growing inequality between the rich nations and the poor nations, should we seek a better global management of national specialization and interdependence or increased national self-sufficiency and independence?

4. Individual identity:

In order to achieve high levels of material production and consumption, industrial societies require an extreme division of labor, highly detailed role requirements and highly predictable standards of behavior from their members. The resulting problems of alienation, anomie, or anxiety have not been cured by affluence, psychotherapy, or soma. In these circumstances, can material goods ever satisfy our spiritual nature? What are the metaphysical alternatives to the materialistic ethic?

READINGS:

The following books are available for purchase in the college bookstore:

1. George Borgstrom, The Food-People Dilemma. North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1974.
2. Herman E. Daly, ed., Toward a Steady-State Economy. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973.
3. William I. Thompson, Passages about Earth. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.
4. Barry Commoner, The Closing Circle. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1971.
5. E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
6. Richard Wilkinson, Poverty and Progress. New York: Praeger, 1973.
7. Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1975.

Several other articles have been assigned for reading and placed on reserve in Starr Library. These are indicated by an asterisk (*) on the syllabus.

FORMAT:

Lecture: Every Monday morning. Each lecture will provide a review and analysis of the literature on the four topics described above. The required readings under each topic should be completed before the Monday lecture. The lectures will be followed, after a short break, by small group discussions.

Special Events:

Films, simulations, videotapes, field trips, and guest speakers have been scheduled as noted on the syllabus. Some of these are limited to our course; others are open to all. Be sure to attend all.

Projects:

During the first few days of the course, the class will be divided into groups of approximately three to six students. Each group will be responsible for creating and presenting the results of some project relating to the theme of the course: ethical strategies for a global community. A suggested list of projects is attached. The project may take any form, medium, or content that the group desires; the course instructors will provide advice and resources as is necessary. Wednesday and Thursday mornings have been reserved for project group meetings. Any group can meet during these times, or any other times it determines, on campus or off.

Weekly Review-Discussion-Feedback-Presentation-Critique Sessions:

Every Friday morning. (Note: All sessions of the course will meet in Monroe Lounge at 9:30 a.m. on the dates indicated on the syllabus, unless otherwise noted.)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Attend all class sessions and special events; participate in discussions and group projects; and write a short (5-10 double-spaced typewritten pages) final paper. The final paper can be on any topic you want, as long as it is approved by one of the course staff. Deadlines: Monday, February 2--Submit a 1-page proposal and outline for staff approval. Monday, February 9--Submit final paper.

SYLLABUS

WEEK 1. INTRODUCTIONS

Readings:

George Borgstrom, The Food-People Dilemma.

Wed., January 7, 1:00 -- Introductory Lecture

Thurs., January 8 -- Films and Discussions:

3900 Million + 1: Oxfam, 1974. The film describes the life of one Indian family and its struggle to till the land; discusses the relationship between food production and population in agricultural and urban settings; emphasizes the changing role of women.

Tilt: Canadian Film Board and World Bank, 1972. An animated film describing the distribution of global resources; presents three strategies of how to deal with the problems of maldistribution of resources.

Fri., January 9 -- Starpower: a mass simulation game on human nature; social structure, and the distribution of scarce resources.

Sun., January 11, 11:00 -- Chapel Sermon, Prof. Steven Rockefeller, "A Post-Christmas Meditation on the Birth of Christ."

WEEK 2. GENERAL FORMULATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:

1. Herman E. Daly, "Introduction," *Toward a Steady-State Economy*.
2. Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth," in Daly, ed.
*3. Richard A. Falk, "A New Paradigm for International Legal Studies," *Yale Law Journal* (84:969), 1975.
4. William I. Thompson, *Passages About Earth*.

Recommended Readings:

*1. James W. Howe and the staff of the Overseas Development Council, *The U.S. and World Development: Agenda for Action, 1975*. See especially the following articles:

  a. Ali A. Mazrui, "The New Interdependence: From Hierarchy to Symmetry."
  b. Roger D. Hansen, "The Emerging Challenge: Global Distribution of Income and Economic Opportunity."
  c. Lester Brown and Erik Eckholm, "Next Steps Toward Global Food Security."
  d. Mildred Weiss, "Statistical Annexes."

*2. William I. Thompson, *At the Edge of History*.

*3. Lester Brown, *World Without Borders*.

Mon., January 12 -- Lecture: Ethical Strategies for a Global Community: An Overview

Tues., January 13 -- Field trip to IBM, Essex Junction. Leave: 8:30 a.m. from McCullough Gym. Return: 2:00 p.m.

Wed., January 14 &
Thurs., January 15 -- Group Project Meetings

Fri., January 16 -- Weekly Review. Presentation of "The Individual and the Collectivity"--a dramatized debate starring: Friedrich Ubermann, a Nazi propagandist; Hajji Abu Bakr Hassan Ibn-Sabah Al-Kajjal, A Pan-Islamic diplomat; K'a Fu-yueh, a Chinese Communist party cadre; and John Cabot Stanton, an American liberal democrat intellectual.

WEEK 3. ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:

1. Barry Commoner, The Closing Circle.
*2. Barry Commoner, "The Energy Outlook and Global Interdependence."
3. Richard England and Barry Bluestone, "Ecology and Social Conflict," in Daly, ed.
4. Paul Ehrlich and John Holdren, "Impact of Population Growth," in Daly, ed.

Recommended Readings:

1. Nicholas Georgescu-Rogen, "The Entropy Law and the Economic Problem," in Daly, ed.
2. Herman E. Daly, "The Steady-State Economy: Toward a Political Economy of Biophysical Equilibrium and Moral Growth," in Daly, ed.

Mon., January 19 -- Lecture: Development of the Environmentalist Ethic

Tues., January 20 -- Videotape and Discussion with Prof. William Catton on Richard Falk, Windham College Lecture: "Environmental Behavior and Social Institutions."

Wed., January 21 &
Thurs., January 22 -- Group Project Meetings

Fri., January 23 -- Weekly Review (Group Project presentations to be arranged.)

WEEK 4. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:

1. E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful.
*2. Murray Bookchin, "Towards a Liberating Technology," Post-Scarcity Anarchism.
3. Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in Daly, ed.
*4. Robert Heilbroner, "Reflections on the Future of Socialism," Between Capitalism and Socialism.
*5. Robert Heilbroner, "Second Thoughts on the Human Prospect."
*6. William I. Thompson, "Lindesfarne: A Planetary Community," The Futurist, February 1975.

Recommended Readings:

1. Richard Wilkinson, Poverty and Progress.

*2. Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice.
3. William Ophuls, "Leviathan or Oblivion?" in Daly, ed.

Mon., January 26 -- Lecture: Social Organization: Interdependence or Self-Sufficiency?

Tues., January 27 -- Discussion of E. F. Schumacher's Middlebury lecture and William Thompson's Cathedral lecture. Note: These are both available on cassette tapes at Sunderland Language Center. Please find the time (about two hours) to listen to both these tapes before the Tuesday morning discussion.

Wed., January 28 &
Thurs., January 29 -- Group Project Meetings

Thurs., January 29, 7:30 -- Special College Symposium: "A Dialogue on Ethical Strategies for a Global Community" with Richard A. Falk, Alfred G. Milbank, Professor of International Law and Practice at Princeton University and member of the World Order Models Project, Institute for World Order, and William I. Thompson, author of Passages About Earth, At the Edge of History, and founder of the Lindesfarne Association.

Fri., January 30 -- Weekly Review.

WEEK 5. INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Readings:

1. Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom.
2. Leon Kass, "The New Biology: What Price Relieving Man's Estate?"
*3. John Gurley, "Maoist Economic Development: The New Man in the New China?"
4. John Cobb, "Ecology, Ethics, and Theology," in Daly, ed.
5. C. S. Lewis, "The Abolition of Man," in Daly, ed.

Recommended Readings:

*1. Global Justice and Development: Report of the Aspen Interreligious Consultation. (Note: See especially the essay by Denis Goulet, "Ethical Strategies in the Struggle for World Development.")
*2. Christopher Stone, "Should Trees Have Standing?"

Mon., February 2 -- Lecture: Human Nature and Social Structure
(One-page paper topic proposals due)

Tues., February 3 &
Wed., February 4 -- Weekly Review

Thurs., 7:30 -- Special College Symposium:
"Alternatives to the Materialist Ethic" with Steven Rockefeller, Department of Religion; Pardon Tillinghast, Department of History; John Elder, Department of English; Andy Reding, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Moderator: David Rosenberg, Department of Political Science.

Mon., February 9 -- Final papers due.

GROUP PROJECTS

The spirit of this part of the course is well described by this passage from Robert Pirsig's Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance:

> Phaedrus gave an assignment on "What is quality in thought and statement?" In the first class meeting after he gave the assignment, the atmosphere was explosive. Almost everyone seemed as frustrated and angered as he had been by the question.
>
> "How are *we* supposed to know what quality is?" they said. "You're supposed to tell *us*!"
>
> Then he told them he couldn't figure it out either and really wanted to know. He had assigned it in the hope that somebody would come up with a good answer.
>
> That ignited it. A roar of indignation shook the room. Before the commotion had settled down another teacher had stuck his head in the door to see what the trouble was.
>
> "That's all right," Phaedrus said, "We just accidentally stumbled over a genuine question, and the shock is hard to recover from." Some students looked curious at this, and the noise simmered down.
>
> He then used the occasion for a short return to his theme of "Corruption and Decay in the Church of Reason." It was a measure of this corruption, he said, that students should be outraged by someone trying to *use* them to seek the truth, to *imitate* it. To actually *search* for it was a damned imposition.

The truth was, he said, that he genuinely did want to know what they thought, not so that he could put a grade on it, but because he really wanted to know.

They looked puzzled.

"I sat there all night long," one said.
"I was ready to cry, I was so mad," a girl next to the window said.
"You should warn us," a third said.

Be warned.

A Suggested List of Group Projects. (Repeat: SUGGESTED only)

Everybody in the course is expected to take part in a group project of one kind or another. The projects may take virtually any form or may be expressed in any medium that the group decides. Trust your impulses and do something original, creative, relevant to the course theme, and informative for the rest of us. The course staff will be available for questions and resources, but will not initiate or direct these projects; that's your responsibility.

The projects may range from short, written, or oral reports of a weekly discussion group to a single, multi-media presentation. Here are a few suggestions (these are only suggestions) to stimulate your efforts.

Prepare a report, dramatization, role-playing, simulation, skit, reading, exhibit, survey, etc. on any of the following.

1. Calculate how much energy you consume in a average day's activity.

2. List the goods and services which you use in an average day. Of these, how many were not in general use 50 years ago? 100 years ago? How widespread are these goods or services in use in other countries?

3. Take a major consumer or personal item which is commonly used in your everyday life and try to find the following: Where did the raw materials and labor come from to produce this item? How much "value" was added to the item at each step of its manufacture? Compare the lives of those who produce this item with the lives of those who "consume" it.

4. Consult a few dictionaries and encyclopedias and write a short essay on the etymology (the history of meanings) of any of the following words: industry, efficiency, modern, development, progress, etc.

5. Make a collection and present an audio-visual essay on the

motivational content of deodorant advertisements (or automobile advertisements or beer advertisements or anything else of this genre). Note: Jim Dodge, head of audio-visual services in Sunderland will be willing to help all serious investigators on this type of multi-media project.

6. Make a visual presentation or display of current corporate slogans, e.g.:

Coke: "It's the Real Thing"
DuPont: "Better Things for Better Living Through Chemistry"
Buick: "Something to Believe In"
Texaco: "Working to Keep Your Trust"
New York Life: "We Guarantee Tomorrow Today"
Union Carbide: "Today, Something We Do Will Touch Your Life"

7. Do something similar to the above on the theme of the Bicentennial.

8. Do a reading, prose or poetry, relating to the course theme.

9. During the winter term, there is going to be a video series showing of J. Bronowski's The Ascent of Man, which presents the perspective of "scientific humanism" on the global community. Follow the series and share some of its insights with the rest of us.

10. Draft a "Declaration of Interdependence."

11. The Middlebury Co-op has expanded considerably in the past few years and is now experiencing some "growing pains." Write a news story on its origins and development, as a case study of "Small is Beautiful."

12. Internships.

The National Student Association (NSA) in Washington, D.C. is willing to place three to five Middlebury College students in short (one or two week) intern programs. Right now, NSA itself needs help in compiling and completing two of their own surveys: one is on college responses to the world food crisis; the other is on a survey of college dining service practices.

They are also running a "January Program" from January 10 to 16 and have invited us to send a delegate. The theme is "Global Studies in American Colleges."

NSA will also organize short internships with other organizations: Population Institute, Institute for World Order, Bread for the World, UNICEF, Children's Foundation, and others.

The basic purpose of these internships is to give students a quick look at what these organizations are like, with the hope that they will pursue longer internships or post-graduate jobs. See Prof. Rosenberg if you're interested in any of these.

13. There are a lot of things going on in Vermont that are relevant to this course. For example, Enertech, Inc., located over in Norwich, designs and manufactures decentralized energy systems, expecially wind-powered generators. They would be delighted to tell you what they're doing. Then, tell the rest of us.

14. What are the prospects for increased energy self-sufficiency (or food self-sufficiency) for Vermont or Northern New England? There has been a lot of talk about this in recent times; what's happening?

15. A lot of colleges have "ecology houses" and other such things, usually organized around residential units. What are the prospects for doing something like that here at Middlebury College?

16. Write the front page of the Middlebury Campus, January 2001 (or any other year you prefer).

17. Analyze the concept of global justice. How has it been defined? What does it imply?

Again, these are only suggestions. Your group should brainstorm your own bright ideas.

WORLD ORDER AND RELIGION

Eugene M. Skibbe
Interim, 1977

Department of Religion
Augsberg College
Minneapolis, MN

Basic Concept

The threat of widespread, fundamental global chaos has impressed itself on the minds of the last two generations of people in the West and upon leaders of other people around the world. The threat posed by nuclear war, the social and political unrest of developing nations and oppressed groups, and most recently the specter of severe food shortages, resource depletion and possible ecological collapse have jolted the thinking of even the ordinary citizen. At best, as Kenneth Boulding suggests in The Meaning of the Twentieth Century, we are in the time of a "great transition" from an older form of international arrangements to a newer form. At worst, as some critics of Western civilization such as William Irwin Thompson have suggested, we are headed for a second Middle Ages. Under such circumstances it is natural to reflect on new forms for world order, and on ways to work toward preferred futures.

In the past, world order has been examined and discussed largely in terms of political science, law, sociology, human geography and philosophy. The Club of Rome study, The Limits to Growth, is an example of a modern technocratic approach to the analysis of the problem, without offering much in the way of answers or solutions. More recently, constructive political theories of world order have been advanced by Richard Falk, This Endangered Planet; Falk and Saul Mendlovitz, Regional Politics and World Order; Harold and Margaret Sprout, Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth, and others. Often these recent works -- Falk's excellent book is an exception here -- do not take world religions into consideration as one type of ideology which helps shape the world we live in.

Conversely, in the past, the academic study of world religion has concentrated primarily on detailed analysis of religious phenomena and belief structures, and very little on global social impact. Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, and Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy, are excellent works, but examples of this limitation. Only recently have scholars ventured to relate the world-shaping powers of religion to the growing global crisis and to preferred alternatives for future world order. Pioneering efforts in this direction are Arend Theodoor van Leewwen's book, Christianity in World History, and the growing number of works by Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

The premise of this course, "World Order and Religion," is that religions have been and continue to be among the principal world-ordering structures for the various peoples of the earth. Religion is today one of the ideological phenomena which influences the vast majority of the world's population. It provides: a context for identity, existential involvement in a transcendent meaning and power for life, and a coordinate to moral structures. This in fact is a working definition for what is referred to below as "world-ordering principles." The best general explication of this view is probably Frederick Streng's book, Understanding Religious Man.

The course is designed to be a liberal arts course in Religion with interdisciplinary dimensions. The course will attempt to bridge the gap between religions as traditional world-ordering phenomena and the current discussion of world order problems. It has among its general objectives to help the student (a) relate a knowledge of major world religions to the global political and ecological crisis of our times, (b) develop attitudes of appreciation for his or her own religious or moral resources, as well as for the pluralistic religious situation of our planet, and (c) consider effective courses of action toward a desirable future situation.

There is no doubt that these objectives could be approached most effectively in an advanced undergraduate course or in a graduate seminar in which students already had considerable background in world religions, as well as in world history. This course, however, seeks to introduce the student to the terms and parameters of this problem on a lower undergraduate level. For students who already have had a course in world religions, this will provide an opportunity to apply their knowlege of relgion to the concept of religion as a world-ordering phenomenon and to current global problems. For other students, the course will represent the kind of issue-oriented study of religion which, hopefully, would motivate them to take further courses with more detailed study of world religions, history, and politics.

The course is proposed, therefore, as an introduction to religion, which is oriented to global social crisis, rather than the more commonly experienced introductions oriented to a theological tradition or psychological and phenomenological data for religion.

Components of the Course

The course is made up of five units. The Introductory Unit provides an occasion to explain the basic approach taken in the course and to test the attitudes of class members toward world community.

Unit I, "Religion in Global Crisis," examines one perception of a threatened global collapse, introduces the student to the problems inherent in the study of religion and the geography of religion, and indicates the difficulties involved when representatives of major religions assemble to discuss and solve world problems. At the end of this unit, class members are to divide into five teams, each representing a major world religion. The teams do special research and become the basis for a simulation game, World Order of Religions, in Unit IV. Unit II, "Five Major Religions as World-Ordering Structures," introduces the student to Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Terms and concepts relating to the cosmology, personal transformation or salvation, and ethics of each religion will be studied. Films and speakers representing how these religious views relate to modern life are suggested. Unit III, "Religion Working for Future World Order," presents to the student problems and tentative solutions to various preferred futures, strategies and values as related to religion and global problems. Unit IV, "World Order of Religions," is a simulation game and the final examination for the course.

An effort has been made to relate world religions to the five concerns associated with world order studies: international violence, economic welfare, social justice, ecological balance, and participation. This is implemented primarily in Unit I, Unit III, and in student preparation for an enactment of the simulation game, although it is also evident in treatment given to problems in Unit II. The perspective from which the subject matter is examined has been informed by the analytical dimensions of world order studies: specification of factual empirical states of affairs, analysis of value implications, consideration of various institutional arrangements, and specification of policy instruments.

Evaluation and Grades

Besides the evaluation of attitudes and values in a Human Loyalty Expressionaire, the course is structured to include cognitive evaluations in exams for Unit I and Unit II, evaluation of discussion and study question work, and evaluation of team research and action in the simulation game (final exam). The equation is: unit exams (1/5 + 1/5), discussion and written answers (1/5), and simulation game (2/5) = course grade.

Unit Assignment and Objectives

Jan. 5 Introduction.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Understand the meaning of "world order" as a new disciplinary approach and as a theory of international relations.

2. Complete a Human Loyalty Expressionaire so that the general attitudinal posture of the class might be examined.
3. After seeing the film, "The Hat" by John and Faith Hubley, discuss the basic problems presented and relate these to the role of religion in the present world situation.

Unit I. Religion in Global Crisis.

Jan. 6 A. Global Crisis.

Assignment. The student is to quickly read Donella Meadows, *et al.*, *The Limits to Growth* for the basic concepts, argument and conclusions.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Explain such terms as: exponential growth, systems dynamics, the five basic problems (population, capital, food, non-renewable resources and pollution), feedback loop, the influence of technology, self-imposed limits to growth, and global equilibrium.
2. Discuss the problem of values which underlies *The Limits to Growth*, especially as referred to on p. 195.
3. Understand that world religions represent attempts to analyze what is wrong with life, relate humankind to life-giving powers, and encourage beneficial forms of behavior.
4. Understand a "world-ordering principle" to be any belief, concept or practice which results in a mental impression of an ordered world and the actual ordering of everyday life for the individual and his society.

B. The Study of Religion in the World.

Jan. 7 Science of Religion.

Assignment. Read the hand-out, "The 'Science' of Religion" by Slater.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Know the basic circumstances and names associated with the origin of the academic study of religion and its development to the present.
2. Understand that the study of religions is a science still seeking to define itself (Ashby), and that it is conducted through the subdivisions of phenomenology of religion, history of religions, psychology

of religion, sociology of religion, philosophy of religion, and the systematic study of world religion.

3. See the significance of the science of religion for developing a viable world community of religions and the problems which are yet unsolved.

Jan. 8 Geography of Religion.

Assignment. Read the hand-out by Broek and Webb, "Religions: Origins and Dispersals."

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Understand the difficulties in establishing exact statistics for world religions.
2. Know the circumstances of origin and the main divisions for Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism.
3. Be able to give the present geographical location and the numerical size of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism.
4. Reflect on and discuss the relationship of religious faith and practice to natural habitat, on one hand, and political structures on the other.

Jan. 9 EXAM on "Science of Religion" and "Geography of Religion."

Jan. 12 C. Institutionalization of World Religions.

Assignment. One of the problems presently confronting world religions is the need to cooperate and the difficulties in trying to do so. This "crisis" of religion on a global scale will be examined further in the next class period. The assignment is to read the proceedings of a "World Conference on Religion and Peace," held in New Delhi, India, in 1968, particularly the nine papers on "Sanctions for Peace."

At this point the student will begin to examine "world-ordering principles" in various religions. These are any belief, concept or practice in a religion which results in a mental impression of an ordered world and in the actual ordering of everyday life for the individual and his society. During one of the class periods in the near future, students will form five teams to represent five world religions.

Read Jack, World Religions and World Peace, with emphasis on pp. 1-15, 39-123; optional reading is pp. 16-38, 124-159. After reading the assigned pages, write answers to the following questions for two papers of the papers on "Sanctions for Peace." Hand in.

1. In each paper, what is the attitude expressed toward war and peace?
2. Although you may not know details about these religions, what appear to be the world-ordering principles operating in the thought of the representatives of each religion?
3. What do you think might be problems hindering cooperation among religions?

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Learn basic historical facts and the problems associated with meetings involving representatives of world religions.
2. Begin to identify the world-ordering principles in statements by representatives of various religions.
3. Reflect on problems in developing cooperation and institutionalization of world religions.
4. Become a member of a team representing one of five major living religions, and develop rapport among members.

Unit II. Five Major Religions as World-Ordering Structures.

Purpose. A religion provides its adherents with a meaningful picture or concept of the world, a way to relate individuals to the ordering power or source of life, and structures for community and for a significant life. The scope of study in this unit will be those points at which religious cosmology, salvation and ethics intersect. The main terms and concepts which elucidate the world-ordering principles of a religion will be examined and learned.

General Objectives. The student shall:

1. Exhibit a capacity to respect the claims of various world religions, while appreciating the moral and spiritual resources of his/her own tradition.
2. Become aware of the various world-ordering principles operating in major religions and their relevance for contemporary problems.

Jan. 13 A. Hinduism.

Jan. 14 Assignment. Read Wilfred Smith, The Faith of Other Men. New York: Harper-Row, 1972, pp. 9-38; Basham in R. C. Zaehner, ed., The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969, pp. 225-260.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Understand that the character of Hinduism is complex and elusive, e.g., that it is difficult to define, tolerates and absorbs diverse religious ideas, allows considerable latitude in choosing a god and worshipping, considers language and dogma incapable of representing the divine.
2. Be able to define or explain terms and names basic to Hinduism, such as:
   transmigration, reincarnation (rebirth), karma, caste, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, outcaste, samsara, moksha, Brahman-Atman, nirvana, dharma, theism, non-dualism (monism), Rig Veda, Brahmanas, Upanishads, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavad Gita, bhakti, yoga, Vedanta, sacred cow, neti neti, Vishnu, Shiva, Sakti, Durga, Kali, Ganesh, guru, Jains, ashrama, puja, sannyasi, Sankara, Ramanuja, Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Gandhi, Vinoba Bhava, Radhakrishnan, Tagore.
3. Discern world-ordering principles in the Hindu religion which appear to give meaning to a Hindu's view of the world and which create or support order in his/her life: Cosmology reflected sociologically in the Absolute and its manifestations, Brahman-Atman, samsara, karma, varna, dharma, moksha, neti neti.
4. Recognize basic changes happening in Hinduism today and some of the principal people and forces effect-such changes: Christianity reflected in Brahma Samaj, the Ramakrishna Movement, Gandhi's social conscience as well as conservatism.

Jan. 15 B. Buddhism.

Assignment. Read Smith, supra, pp. 39-52, portraying Theravadin Buddhism; Horner in Zaehner, supra, pp. 267-295; and Conze in Zaehner, supra, pp. 296-320.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Define or explain the following names or terms as relate to Buddhism:
   Gautama, Buddha, Bodhisattva, Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma, Tipitaka, Sutras, Mahasanghika, Theravada, Mahayana, dharma, karma, paticca-samuppada, five khandhas, consciousness, anatta, Nirvana, emptiness, Eightfold Way, arhant, samgha, celestial Bodhisattva, Prajnaparamita, Four Noble Truths, mantra.
2. Recognize the basic similarities and differences in the cosmologies of Hindu, Theravada and Mahayana.

3. Explain similarities and differences in the understanding of dharma by Hindu, Theravada and Mahayana.
4. Reflect on differences of behavior and values which result from the above differences. For example, Hindu thinks of caste as part of dharma. The ethic varies according to caste and level. The Buddhist rejects caste, opens dharma to all. Theraveda requires difficult meditation with self-sacrificing service to all, and offers all salvation through faith in a Bodhisattva, as well as through discipline.
5. Understand the world-ordering principles of Buddhism as basically sophisticated psychology, developed against the background of a modified Hindu cosmology, which leads to the intensification and universalization of certain Hindu ideas and the introduction of new ones, such as found in Buddha, dharma and sangha.

Jan. 19 C. Judaism.

Assignment. Read Werblowsky in Zaehner, supra, pp. 23-50.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Be able to define or explain the following names and terms:
   Orthodox, Reformed, Conservative, Hasidism, Schema, election, covenant, Torah, Talmud, Halakha, Zionism, Messiah.
2. Understand the world-ordering principles in Judaism as one God having chosen a people to reveal his holiness and salvation (Torah) to all nations, and their response in study, obedience (Halakha) and ritual actions.
3. Know the main problems confronting Judaism today.

Jan. 20 D. Christianity.

Assignment. Read Smith, supra, pp. 81-111, and in Zaehner, supra, Davies, pp. 51-85; Zernov, pp. 86-107; Kent, pp. 117-128, 133-149; Corbishley, pp. 150-177.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Be able to define or explain terms and names such as:
   Jesus, Incarnation, Trinity, Kingdom of God, ekklesia, faith, agape, eschatology, atonement, resurrection, Doctrine of Two Kingdoms, five ethical responses to culture.

2. Understand the world-ordering principles of Christianity as centered primarily in Jesus as the Christ, who establishes the gracious rule of God in the midst of a world of law and sin, so that all people can be saved.
3. Know the origin and basic similarities and differences between the major groups in Christianity.
4. Be aware of major problems confronting Christianity today.

Jan. 21 E. Islam.

Jan. 22 Assignment. Read Smith, supra, pp. 53-66, and Gibb in Zaehner, supra, pp. 178-208.

Objectives. The students shall:

1. Be able to define or explain:
   Allah, Muhammad, Dar al-Islam, Dar al-Harb, dhikr, Hajj (Hijrah), Qur'an, sunnah, Sunni, Shi'ite, Sufi, Shari'ah, Ummah, Caliph (khilafah), Jihad, shirk, zulum, shukr, Wahhabis, Hanafi, Ash'arites, Shahadeh, imam, Islam, muslim, Salat, Saum, Zakat.
2. Understand as world-ordering principles in Islam, that the Qur'an explicated in the Shari'ah creates the Ummah, ruled by Allah's will through the imja' or imam.
3. Recognize the present tension between the Ummah governed by Shari'ah and imja' and the modern state ruled by laws made by a legislature and applied by civil courts.
4. Know the basic facts about the origin of Islam.

Jan. 23 EXAM on Unit II.

Unit III. Religion Working for Future World Order.

Jan. 26 A. Preferred Futures for Religion in World Community.

Class discussion.

Jan. 27 B. Strategies.

Assignment. Read Thomas Derr, Ecology and Human Need. Philadelphia: Westminister, 1973.

Objectives. The student shall:

1. Speculate verbally about possible futures for religion in world community, and express his preferences for certain options.

2. Understand Derr's Christian "historial humanism" and the views he criticizes: revisionism, process theology and remystifiers.
3. Become aware of principle theories for religions relating to one another in a future world community.
4. Know various strategies being used now, or of possible use in the future, for developing a desirable religious situation in a world community.
5. Reflect on various implicit values in the books, strategies and goals discussed in this unit.

Jan. 29 Unit IV. The World Order of Religions.

Jan. 30 Materials: The students will have researched and accumulated notecards and policy statements, which they will use in this unit.

Objectives. This unit is conducted as a simulation game, "The World Order of Religions," and serves as a pedagogical synthesis and final examination for the entire course. Five teams, each representing Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, will have been formed at the end of Unit I in the course.

The students shall:

1. Research one religion in greater depth as it relates to social issues.
2. Simulate construction of a world religious institution, and within that institution issue policy statements about one social issue.
3. Struggle with the tension between power and truth and between religious conviction and relevance.

Initial assignment: At the time teams are formed in Unit I, this assignment is given to all members of all teams:

1. Each team represents a group of leaders and experts from a religious tradition: Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity or Islam.
2. Each team must organize itself and prepare to meet with other teams in Unit IV to:
   a. Organize the best possible institutional structure for world religions, a preferred "World Order of Religions" (WOR).
   b. Discuss and formulate a policy with regard to one of three global social issues.

   Each team will do this by means of an in-depth study of its own religion.
3. Members of the team will receive a team grade at the end of the simulation game, which will represent 2/5 of each person's grade for the term.

4. The information for policy statements may be gathered from sources such as:
   a. Sacred scriptures for the religion.
   b. Statements by religious leaders and theologians.
   c. Books which relate the particular religious values to the current issues.
   d. The New York Times Index and reports on the particular religions and social issues.
5. The team will collect information on four current social issues from the sources, writing information on note cards. Prior to the beginning of Unit IV, each team will write a two-page policy statement on each of the four issues. The first policy statements represent the "Truth Factor" (T):
   a. The basic view of the religion toward the truth and authority of other religions (especially those represented by other teams). (T)

   The next three policy statements represent the "Relevancy Factor." (R):
   b. The basic view toward human equality (rights of women). (R1)
   c. The basic view toward population control (birth control). (R2)
   d. The basic view of the relation of religion to governmental authority. (R3)
6. The written policy statements must be:
   a. Documented to indicate the basis for a policy. The relative accuracy and adequacy of sources and documentation represents the "Conviction Factor." (C)
   b. Relevant and realistic as proposed solution to the issue. This is the "Relevancy Factor." (R)
   c. Agreed upon by all team members.
   d. Made in duplicate, so that one copy can be handed in to the instructor prior to the beginning of the game.
7. Each team will select one member, who will become a member of the Constitution Committee in Phase One of the game, and who will have the task of negotiating on behalf of the entire team in the construction of the World Order of Religions. That member should gather data on note cards relevant to: the numerical strength, geographical spread, general political influence and general power of persuasion or social influence. This data represents the "Power Factor." (P) Power Factor cards are handed in to the instructor after Phase One is completed. This team member is also responsible for the drafting of a Draft Constitution (DC), which will form the basis of the negotiating. The DC should contain several sentences or a paragraph, giving the form, relative

voting strengths of the various religions, and the relation to World Government for the WOR. The team must know of and approve the DC.

8. In Phase Two, all Team members will take part in discussion of the particular social issue and work toward finding a solution.

Outline of the Game:

A. Phase One. (1-2 hours)

1. The first step is the formation of the Constitution Committee. Each team has already written a policy statement on its views toward other religions (T). It has also selected one of its team members to research the strength of its religion (P) and to develop a proposed structure (DC) for the WOR. The purpose of the Constitution Committee is to negotiate a constitution for the WOR which is acceptable to the teams. The Committee is formed by seating the five team representatives and the instructor (or a designate) at a table in the center of the room. The five teams are clustered at points around the central table, close enough for teams to hear the negotiations, but far enough away so that they cannot verbally interrupt the proceedings. (Typical "fish bowl" arrangement.)
2. The instructor begins the proceedings by reading a statement outlining the urgent need for an institutional arrangement for religions of the world. He lists the most obvious forms this might assume: (a) a world institution empowered to make policy which all religions agree to carry out (strong form); (b) a world institution which formulates policy, with such policy contingent upon ratification and voluntary implementation by each participant religious body (moderate, federal form); (c) a world structure for communication, debate and possible cooperation (weak form); (d) no effective institutional arrangement possible (zip form).
3. The proceedings continue as each committee member presents his team's DC. The members then negotiate with one another, trying to develop a constitution which states in a few sentences or a paragraph the form, relative voting strength, and relation to a World Government body.
4. Whereas only the committee members actually negotiate, the teams may send written notes to their respective representatives. In an effort to guide and influence the negotiations. The team members outside of the committee represent a "hierarchy"

or "constituency" and act to safeguard T and P (STP) during the negotiations.

5. Within the two hour limit the committee must formulate its constitution and have this ratified by the teams. This establishes the WOR.

Phase One is evaluated at this time. Cf. below.

B. Phase Two. (1-2 hours)

1. After forming the WOR, a plenary session for all teams and team members is convened (by the instructor or a designate).
2. One of the three crucial, global social issues is selected by drawing straws, and that issue is placed before the assembly by the convener.
3. In the initial assignment, the three issues were made known to the teams in general terms. They have been the object of research and the policy statements. The issues are now restated in urgent terms:
   a. World population has already outgrown existing and projected food supplies. What can WOR do to aid and control the population growth rate?
   b. A delegation of leading women from all religions has approached each government, demanding equal rights in government and in religious life. To what extent can WOR support or satisfy their demands?
   c. There is danger of global war, because of religious impassioned warfare between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The World Government has established a Department of Ideology and has passed a resolution requiring all religions and secular ideologies to register with and heed the policy of the Department. How would the WOR respond?
4. To begin with each team would present its policy with regard to that issue.
5. Following that, the teams would discuss and formulate the most effective answer to the issue to which the largest number of teams can subscribe.
6. There are two factors in tension as they attempt to do this: C will be in tension with R. The policy issued by WOR should have as much of both factors as possible.
7. The dynamics of the game can be increased by the convener interjecting crisis factors into the discussion. For example, (a) a mysterious "White Plague" has killed 40% of the population of India; (b) a woman has proclaimed herself "Messiah" in

Israel, and is marshalling troops for a war against the Arabs; or (c) the World Government has revised its demands, so that religions need not register, if the WOR will condemn the support being given to Israel by religious Jews and to Arab countries by faithful Muslims.

8. This phase of the game ends with the writing of a brief statement representing the policy of the WOR and its member religions.

Evaluation:

1. After Phase One, a grade is given to each team on the basis of: (a) adequacy and accuracy of data cards (P), policy statement (T), and the proposed constitution (DC); (b) the communication and consensus between team and representatives on the committee (STP); and (c) the resulting constitution, rated according to strength and ratification. (WOR)
2. In Phase Two each team is graded according to: (a) the three policy statements (R1, 2, 3) rated on their C and R factors; (b) the degree of unity maintained in each team; and (c) the effectiveness of the WOR policy, rated according to C and R.
3. The final exam grade is a combination of the score from Phase One and Phase Two. The team grade becomes the individual grade for each team member. That grade is averaged with other individual grades from previous units in the course to yield the individual's grade for the entire course.

G. FUTURISM

ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURES
CPS 421/PS 429

Francis Beer
Fall, 1976

Conflict and Peace Studies
Department of Political Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO

The work for the course consists of the following:

(1) Class attendance, discussion, and required readings (25%). Students are expected to come to class regularly and participate enthusiastically on the basis of work which has been done outside class.

(2) Exercises (25%). A series of exercises designed to develop skills for dealing with the future will be discussed in class, and completed by the students outside class. These will not be graded for quality, but must be handed in promptly.

(3) Mid-term examination (25%). A mid-term examination, sometime in October, will cover material discussed during the first part of the course.

(4) Final Examination (25%). The final examination will cover all the material discussed in the course.

I. Approaches to World Futures

9/2 Introduction

9/7 Movies: "Future Shock"
"The Futurists"
"Games Futurists Play"

9/9 Discussion: "Approaches to World Futures"
Reading: A. Toffler, Future Shock, N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1972.

9/14 Lecture: "Perspectives on World Futures"
Reading: F. Beer, "A Methodology of World Order" in L. Beres & H. Targ, eds., Planning Alternative World Futures, N.Y.: Praeger, 1975.
D. Livingston, "Science Fiction Models of Future World Order Systems," International Organization, Vol. XXV, No. 2, Spring 1971, pp. 254-270.

9/16 Movies: "Stranger then Science Fiction"
"The Unexplained"

II. Future World Systems

9/21 Lecture: "Structure and Process of Future World Systems"

9/23 Discussion: "Future World Systems"
Reading: Review Beer, "A Methodology of World Order."

III. Future World Environments

9/28 Lecture: "Techniques for Projecting Future World Environments"
Reading: D. Meadows et al., Limits to Growth, N.Y.: Universe Books, 1972.

9/30 Discussion: "Alternative Environmental Patterns"

A. Peace and Violence

10/5 Movies: "Armaments: The War Game"
"But What Do We Do?"

10/7 Lecture: "The Futures of World Peace and Violence"
Reading: F. Beer, Peace Against War.

10/12 MID-TERM EXAMINATION

B. Liberty and Repression

10/14 Movie: "Fahrenheit 451"

10/19 Discussion: "The Futures of World Liberty and Repression"
Reading: H. Lasswell, "The Garrison State," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 46, Jan. '41, pp. 455-468.
H. Lasswell, "Introduction to the Paperback Edition," World Politics and Personal Insecurity. New York: Free Press, 1965.

C. Welfare and Poverty

10/21 Movies: "Who Shall Feed This World?"
"Hunger"

10/26 Discussion: "The Futures of World Welfare and Poverty"

Reading: N. Keyfitz, "World Resources and the World World Middle Class," Scientific American 235, 1 (July 1976): 28-35.
D. Meadows et al., Limits to Growth.

D. Justice and Injustice

10/28 Discussion: "The Futures of World Justice and Injustice:
Reading: H. Aldo, "Trends in International Value-Inequality 1969-70: An Empirical Study," Journal of Peace Research 13, 1 (1976): 13-34.
K. E. Boulding, "The Shadow of the Stationary State," Daedalus, Vol. 102, No. 4, Fall 1973, pp. 89-101.

E. Community and Alienation

11/2 Discussion: "The Futures of World Community and Alienation"
Reading: F. Beer, "The Structure of World Consciousness" in Beres & Targ.

IV. Future World Decisions

A. Democracy

11/4 Lecture: "The Myth of Democracy"

11/9 Discussion: "Who Make Decisions?"
Reading: B. A. Carroll, "Peace Research: The Cult of Power," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. XVI, No. 4, Dec. 1972, pp. 585-616.

B. Rationality

11/11 Movie: "Mind of Man"

Movies: "Miracle of the Mind"
"Incredible Voyage"
"Cybernetics"
"Bats, Birds, and Bionics"

11/18 Lecture: "Techniques for Making Rational Decisions"

11/23 Discussion: "National Policy to Improve Value"
Reading: G. Kent, "Prescribing Foreign Policy."

11/25 THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

11/30 Lecture: "The Myth of Rationality"

12/1 Lecture: "Beyond Mythology"

ALTERNATIVE WORLD FUTURES:

Questions and Topics for Discussion and Review

I. Approaches to World Futures
   1. What is future shock? Is it related to culture shock?
   2. What is the relationship between accelerated travel in space and time?
   3. Can one study the future? In what ways?
   4. What does it mean when we talk about moving from an image of the future which is general, amorphous, and unified to one which is complex, specific, and pluralistic?

Religion
   1. Do you think religion is a useful way for people to gain control over the future?
   2. Do you think that religion will play a more or less important role in the development of the world?
   3. Will Christianity be important in the year 1984? 2000? 2100?
   4. What other kinds of religions will exist?
   5. Will these religions be better adapted to the society of the future?
   6. Will they be more useful in helping human beings control their destiny?

Secular Utopias
   1. Are there differences between religious and non-religious utopias? What are they? What are the similarities?
   2. Do you think a utopia could be realized today? in 1984? in 2000? in 2100?
   3. Would it be better to start at the top, with plans for a global utopia, or at the bottom with communal experiments?
   4. Could there be a utopia in one country alone or would it have to be global?

Fiction and Science Fiction
   1. What is the relationship between fiction and reality? Does fiction represent important dimensions of the real world? Does the real world mold itself to conform to fictional representations of it?
   2. What kinds of pictures does fiction present of the world in 1984, 2000, 2100? What kinds of things does it leave out?
   3. Does fiction suggest much room for human beings to change the future, or does it seem relatively determined?

4. Compare fiction and science fiction as a means of depicting the future.
5. To what extent is science fiction fictional? To what extent is it scientific?

Science

1. Compare the scientific approach with others? What are some differences between artistic and scientific ways of studying the future?
2. Does futurology seem more scientific than science fiction?
3. Do you think that futurology will ever be an academic discipline like English, Political Science, or Physics?
4. How will it define itself as a discipline?
5. Why would students take courses in it or major in it?
6. What kinds of careers and jobs might be open to majors in future studies?

II. Future World Systems

1. What do we mean by a system?
2. Do you think it is useful to think of the world as a system?
3. What kinds of things does a systems view illuminate?
4. What does it tend to obscure or hide?
5. Do you think that living within a system is inconsistent with the idea of personal liberty or freedom or independence?
6. What is the relationship between world science and the world system?
7. What is the difference between a natural and an artificial world order?
8. What are world engineering and world ethics? How are they similar? How are they different?
9. What different kinds of models of the system can we make? What is the difference between concrete and analytic models?
10. What are the major elements or components of the world system?
11. What do we mean when we talk of alternative future world systems?

III. Future World Environments

1. What is the world environment?
2. What is the difference between the world system and the world environment?
3. Specify the degree of independent impact which the existing environment exercises on the future.
4. What portion of the variance of the future world system do you believe that present environment explains?

Techniques

1. What is a variable? What's the difference between dependent, independent, and intervening variables?

2. What is a value?
3. What is an indicator?
4. How are variables, values, and indicators related?
5. Describe some central variables in the world environment. What are some important indicators?
6. If we project these variables forward on the basis of past developmental trends, what would the future look like? Do past trends suggest linear growth, logarithmic growth, or some other pattern of growth or decline?
7. Do your five major variables interact to affect each other? Will growth or decline in one variable change the pattern of development for the others?
8. What is a causal hypothesis?
9. What is a causal model?
10. Can you draw a causal model which shows relationships you believe exist between some major environmental variables?
11. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends for your five variables?
12. Can you assign probabilities to each of these alternative projections? Which are most likely? What are least likely?
13. Can you write a scenario to go with each graph? This scenario would describe in words the developmental relations depicted in the graph.
14. Can you specify a chronology for each projection? The chronology depicts the important events which occur at specific points in time as one goes forward in time. They are like road markers.

Alternative Environmental Patterns

1. What is the best possible future environment?
2. What is the worst possible future environment?
3. Can you define any future environments in the middle?
4. How probable are each of these alternative future environments?

Peace and Violence

1. How can we define peace and violence? What do we mean by a difference between broad and narrow definitions?
2. Are peace and violence opposites? Is peace the absence of violence? Is violence the absence of peace?
3. Can we measure peace and violence? How?
4. What are the most likely future trends in peace and violence?
5. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in peace and violence? Is there a difference between different geographical regions: for example, the Middle East and Europe? Is there a difference between future time periods: for example, 1984, 2000, 2100?
6. Which of these trends are best, worst, and intermediate?
7. What other environmental variables will affect these trends?
8. Can you draw a causal model which shows the major environmental causes of peace and violence?

9. Can you assign *probabilities* to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
10. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of peace and violence.

Liberty and Repression

1. How can we define liberty and repression? What do we mean by a difference between broad and narrow definitions?
2. Can we distinguish between positive and negative liberty?
3. What will liberty mean in 1984, 2000, or 2100?
4. Can we measure liberty and repression? How?
5. What are the most likely future trends in liberty and repression?
6. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in liberty and repression? Is there a difference between different geographical regions: for example, areas which are developing more or less quickly? Is there a difference between different future time periods: for example, 1984, 2000, 2100?
7. Which of these trends are best, worst, and intermediate?
8. What other environmental variables will affect these trends?
9. Can you draw a causal model which shows the major environmental causes of liberty and repression?
10. Can you assign probabilities to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
11. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of liberty and repression.

Welfare and Poverty

1. How can we define welfare and poverty? What do we mean by a difference between broad and narrow definitions?
2. Are welfare and poverty opposites? Is welfare the absence of poverty? Is poverty the absence of welfare?
3. Can we measure welfare and poverty? How?
4. What are the most likely future trends in welfare and poverty?
5. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in welfare and poverty? Is there a difference between different geographical regions? Is there a difference between different future time periods?
6. Which of these trends are the best, worst, and intermediate?
7. What other environmental variables will affect these trends?
8. Can you draw a causal model which shows the major environmental causes of welfare and poverty?
9. Can you assign probabilities to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
10. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of welfare and poverty.

Justice and Injustice

1. How can we define justice and injustice? What do we mean by a difference between broad and narrow definitions?
2. Is there a difference between political, economic and social justice? What is it?
3. Can we measure justice and injustice? How?
4. What are the most likely future trends in justice and injustice?
5. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in justice and injustice? Is there a difference between different future time periods?
6. Which of these trends are best, worst, and intermediate?
7. What other environmental variables will affect these trends?
8. Can you draw a causal model which shows the major environmental cause of justice and injustice?
9. Can you assign probabilities to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
10. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of justice and injustice.

Community and Alienation

1. How can we define community and alienation?
2. Are community and alienation opposite? Is community the absence of alienation? Is alienation the absence of community?
3. Can we measure community and alienation? How?
4. What are the most likely future trends in community and alienation?
5. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in community and alienation? Is there a difference between different geographical regions? Is there a difference between different future time periods?
6. Which of these trends are best, worst, and intermediate?
7. What other environmental variables will affect these trends?
8. Can you draw a causal model which shows the major environmental causes of community and alienation?
9. Can you assign probabilities to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
10. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of community and alienation.

Conclusion

1. Elaborate alternative future environments with different degrees of peace-violence, welfare-poverty, justice-injustice, community-alienation.
2. Which of these are most likely for different geographical regions by 1984, 2000, 2100?
3. Which are least likely?
4. Which are intermediate?

IV. Future World Decisions

Democracy

1. Who do you think should make decisions about the future of the world?
2. Who actually does make decisions?
3. How can we tell who makes decisions?
4. How can we define power and influence? What is the difference between power and influence?
5. How can we measure the power and influence held by different decision-makers?
6. What are the most likely future trends in the distribution of power and influence in the world? In particular countries?
7. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in power and influence? Is there a difference between different geographical regions? Is there a difference between different future time periods?
8. Which of these trends are best, worst, and intermediate?
9. What environmental variables will affect trends in power and influence?
10. Can you draw a causal model showing such causes?
11. Can you assign probabilities to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
12. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of power and influence.

Rationality

1. What are the scope and limits of human rationality in understanding and creating the future world environment?

Techniques

1. What is the difference between political values and private values? How are they related?
2. How are values related to the definition of national interest?
3. How important are the major political values to you? Weight these values on a relative value scale which totals 100.
4. What is the difference between policies, plans, programs, and projects?
5. Describe a number of alternative policies to improve the world's value position. Be sure to include sets of subordinate plans, programs, and projects.
6. What are utilities, utiles? How are they calculated?
7. To what extent could your alternative policies help realize your values?
8. Can you calculate a utility value for each policy?
9. How do these policies score on your value scale?
10. Are there different probabilities, for different policies, that you will indeed achieve your values to the extent you have specified?
11. What is expected utility? How is it different from simple utility?

12. What are the "expected utilities" of your different policies?
13. What is a game matrix?
14. Construct a game matrix containing your alternative policies for two decision-makers with different values.
15. Make up a debate over the merits of your alternative policies between a decision-maker with your values and another decision-maker with different values.
16. What is the difference between an empirical and a theoretical game?
17. What are some standard theoretical games?
18. What are some major differences between the games of chicken and prisoners' dilemma?
19. Do you recognize any standard games like "chicken" or "prisoners' dilemma" in the matrix you have sketched?
20. What are some standard solutions for theoretical games? What do we mean by minimax or maximin? What is the saddle point?
21. Which cell or cells in your matrix seem to represent the most logical solution(s)? Are you able to use "minimax" or "maximin" criteria to decide? Is there a "saddle point?"
22. Would mediation help the outcome?
23. What effect are your policies likely to have on the future world system by 1984? By 2000? By 2000?

Irrationality

1. What role do irrational dimensions of human behavior play in producing alternative future environments?
2. How can we define irrationality?
3. Can we measure irrationality? How?
4. What are the most likely future trends in rationality and irrationality?
5. Can you draw a set of graphs which depict alternative developmental trends in rationality and irrationality? Is there a difference between different geographical regions? Is there a difference between different future time periods?
6. Which of these trends are best, worst, and intermediate?
7. What other environmental variables will affect these trends?
8. Can you draw a causal model which shows the major environmental causes of rationality and irrationality?
9. Can you assign probabilities to different projections, discriminating between the more and less likely?
10. Elaborate scenarios and chronologies to go with the different alternative futures of rationality and irrationality.
11. What alternative policies might help make the world more rational?

POSTINDUSTRIAL SOCIETY
Government 312L

M. Donald Hancock
Fall, 1977

Department of Government
University of Texas
Austin, TX

The purpose of this course is to consider contemporary forces of social change in advanced industrial nations, with particular emphasis on the United States, and to appraise alternative images of future postindustrial society. Lecture material and the assigned readings will combine domestic, comparative, and international perspectives. Beyond the common core of assigned material, students are urged to read widely on their own initiative--utilizing the daily press, magazines, journals, books, and other sources to enhance their critical awareness of contemporary processes of social change and the potential for alternative domestic and world futures. Student performance will be evaluated on the basis of two hour quizzes and a comprehensive final examination.

Required reading:

Kenneth M. Dolbeare and Patricia Dolbeare, American Ideologies. The Competing Political Beliefs of the 1970s. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1976.
Leon N. Lindberg, ed., Politics and the Future of Industrial Society. N.Y.: McKay, 1976.
Mihajlo Mesarovic and Edward Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point. N.Y.: E. P. Dutton, 1974.
Robert Pirsig, Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance. N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1976.
E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1973.

I. THE PRESENT AS DISCONTINUITY

1. Introduction: Toward Postindustrial Society: Will We Know It When We See It? Concepts, Facts, and Problematics.

Required reading:

"Introduction: Politics and the Future of Industrial Society," in Leon Lindberg, ed., Politics and the Future of Industrial Society, pp. 1-18.

Recommended:

"Introduction," in M. Donald Hancock and Gideon Sjoberg, eds., Politics in the Post-Welfare State: Responses to the New Individualism. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1972.
Peter N. Stearns and Daniel Bell, "Is There a Post-Industrial Society?" Society, Vol. 11 (May/June 1974), pp. 10-12, 14, 16-17, 22.
Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. N.Y.: Basic Books, 1973.
Alain Touraine, The Post-Industrial Society. N.Y.: Random House, 1971.

2. The Global Context

Required reading:

Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point.

Recommended:

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era. N.Y.: Viking Press, 1970.
Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr., eds., Transnational Relations and World Politics. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
Robert Junck and Johan Galtung, Mankind 2000. London: Universitet, 1969.

3. Alternative Patterns of Postindustria

Required reading:

Todd La Porte and C. J. Abrams, "The California Experience," in Lindberg, Politics and the Future of Industrial Society, pp. 19-56.
Taketsugu Tsurutani, "Japan as a Postindustrial Society," in Lindberg, Politics, pp. 100-125.
M. Donald Hancock, "Elite Images and System Change in Sweden," in Lindberg, Politics, pp. 167-190.

4. Social Power, Values, and Human Choice

Required reading:

Jeffrey D. Straussman, "Technocratic Counsel and Societal Guidance," in Lindberg, Politics, pp. 126-166.
Ronald Inglehart, "The Nature of Value Change in Post-industrial Societies," in Lindberg, Politics, pp. 57-99.
Charles W. Anderson, "Public Policy and the Complex Organization: The Problem of Governance and the Further Evolution of Advanced Industrial Society," in Lindberg, Politics, pp. 191-221.

II. COMPETING IMAGES OF THE FUTURE

5. The Mainstream Ideologies

Required reading:

Kenneth N. Dolbeare and Patricia Dolbeare, American Ideologies, pp. 1-89.

6. The Challengers

Required reading:

Dolbeare and Dolbeare, pp. 91-217.

7. "Economics as if People Mattered"

Required reading:

E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful.

8. A New Individualism?

Required reading:

Orion White, Jr., and Gideon Sjoberg, "The Emerging 'New Politics' in America," in Hancock and Sjoberg, Politics in the Post-Welfare State.

Robert Pirsig, Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance.

III. ALTERNATIVES AND PROBABILITIES

FUTURE WORLD ORDERS: RESEARCH & POLICY ISSUES

Rajni Kothari
Spring, 1977

Graduate School of
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The main purpose of this course is to examine alternative perspectives on the future world order, in terms of (a) viewpoints on the relationship between the states system and world order, (b) scenarios and models for the future world order, and (c) strategies and policy prescriptions for transition to the future found in the different models.

In order to appreciate these alternative formulations and assess them, however, it is essential to first consider the rationale for world order study: what is it in the contemporary situation that has brought about this pedagogic need? This will be examined in the context of the growing inadequacy of existing paradigms - the crisis in science and technology, the failure of prevailing ideological systems, the decline in legitimacy of present political structures, the growing irrelevance of development theory in dealing with basic issues of development - and the consequent need to redirect intellectual effort.

Three main dimensions will be considered in this context. The first is the dimension of time - the need to think of human problems in the perspective of the future, the main reason for this being the fact that, in a world so dominated by technology, the consequences of human action quite often become irreversible for future generations. The second is the dimension of scale - the need to think of human problems in a global perspective, the reason for this being the quantitative and qualitative shift in human magnitudes and the increasing incapacity of the existing political structure to handle them, as well as the growing cost of maintaining this structure thanks to its overwhelming dependence on the war system. The third is the dimension of values - the need to think of human problems in a normative framework, the reason for this being the failure of the predictive method of science (including the so-called science of futurology).

These three dimensions point to the need of conceiving human problems in global terms, in the perspective of the future, and through strategies that follow from a set of values that are sought to be realized. World order study combines these three points of departure. Each of these dimensions will be dealt with in the course. The alternative models that have been advanced by different thinkers in the field will likewise be examined in terms of the positions they take on each of these dimensions.

The alternative frameworks themselves will be considered in three stages. There will first be an examination of different approaches to the human crisis in contemporary times and its historical genesis. There are on these a variety of standpoints and these will be studied. To the extent possible the theoretical and philosophical pedigrees of these standpoints in the history of thought will also be traced with a view to perceiving continuities and change in the human condition.

The second set of readings and critiques thereof will relate to the scenarios and models of world future that have been advanced in recent years in international scholarship. Attempt will be made to understand the assumptions underlying each of the more important among these models, the models themselves, and the logical, methodological and substantive issues in them. The models will then be compared against a certain framework of values and criteria.

The third aspect of examining alternative models will be in terms of the concrete strategies of transformation advocated by them from the point of view of both their feasibility and their sufficiency.

It is expected to lay out the framework of the course along the lines spelt out above (rationale of 'world order studies', alternative analyses of the world situation put forward over time, and alternative models and strategies that have been put forward in recent times) in four or five sittings of the course. After that the course will take the form of a seminar at which students will be encouraged to present papers or reviews dealing with specific models and strategies, methodological issues arising from them, and problems of research and policy that emerge from them. Participants in the course will be assessed on the basis of papers presented by them. It is also hoped that this course, which will perhaps be the first of its type at Columbia, will provide experience in organizing future courses on world order studies.

Readings

The course will require a somewhat diverse scanning of the literature. On the other hand, students coming to a course like this can be expected to have a good background of reading in political science and international relations. As the course proceeds, gaps can be covered and new readings added. What is given below is meant merely to illustrate the kind of material that will need to be looked into. For those who take up particular aspects of the course for writing their papers, further reading in depth on that aspect will be needed.

A. On the crises in present paradigms of science, ideology and development theory which point to the need for a world order study approach, the following readings appear relevant:

1. Rene Guenon, The Crisis of the Modern World, London, Luzac, 1962.
2. C. F. von Weizsacker, The Relevance of Science, London, Collins, 1964, especially Chapters 1 & 10.
3. John R. Platt, The Step to Man, New York, Wiley, 1966.
4. G. R. Urban, ed., Can We Survive Our Future: A Symposium, New York, St. Martin's, 1971.
5. Robert M. Young, "Evolutionary Biology and Ideology: Then and Now," Science Studies, I, 2, 1971.
6. Lynn Whyte, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," Science, 155, March 10, 1967.
7. Beryle L. Crowe, "The Tragedy of the Commons Revisited" in Leslie H. Roos, Jr., ed., The Politics of Ecosuicide, New York, Holt, Rinehart, 1971.
8. Svetozar Stojanovic, Between Ideals and Reality: A Critique of Socialism and Its Future, New York, Oxford, 1973.
9. Andre Gorz, Socialism and Revolution, London, Allen Lane, 1975.
10. Jugen Habermas, Legitimation Crisis, Boston, Beacon, 1975.
11. Robert A. Nisbet, Social Change and History: Aspects of the Western Theory of Development, Oxford, 1969.
12. Peter F. Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity, New York, Harper & Row, 1968.
13. Peter L. Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change, New York, Basic Books, 1974.
14. Stephen Raushenbush, Man's Past, Man's Future, New York, Delacorte, 1969, especially Chapters 8 & 12.
15. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, The Future of Man, New York, Harper & Row, 1964.
16. Rajni Kothari, Choices Facing A Divided World, Dyason Memorial Lectures, 1974.

B. On alternative perspectives on world future:

1. Richard Kostelanetz, ed., Beyond Left and Right: Radical Thought for Our Times, New York, William Morrow, 1968, especially the contributions of Kenneth E. Boulding, Buckminster Fuller, Paul Goodman and Herman Kahn.
2. R. Buckminster Fuller, Utopia or Oblivion: The Prospects for Humanity, New York, Overlook Press, 1969.

3. Ian G. Barbour, ed., Western Man and Environmental Ethics: Attitudes Toward Nature and Technology, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1973, especially the contributions of Lynn White Jr., Rene Dubos, Norman Faramelli, James Carroll and Paul Goodman.
4. Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace through World Law, 3rd revised edition, Cambridge, Harvard, 1966.
5. Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society, London, Jonathan Cape, 1965.
6. E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered, New York, Harper & Row, 1973.
7. Alvin Toffler, ed., The Futurists, New York, Random House, 1972.
8. Margaret Mead, Prospects for World Harmony: An Anthropological View, New Delhi, 1973.
9. Franklin Tugwell, ed., Search for Alternatives: Public Policy and the Study of the Future, Cambridge, Winthrop, 1973.
10. Guy F. Erb and Valeriana Kallab, eds., Beyond Dependency: The Developing World Speaks Out, Washington D.C., Overseas Development Council, 1975.

C. On alternative scenarios and models and alternative strategies:

1. Herman Kahn and Anthony Wiener, The Year 2000, New York, Macmillan, 1967.
2. Wendell Bell and James A. Mau, eds., The Sociology of the Future, New York, Russell Sage, 1971.
3. Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting, London, Heinemann, 1974.
4. Donella H. Meadows et al., The Limits to Growth, New York, Universe Books, 1972.
5. H. S. D. Cole et al., Models of Doom: A Critique of The Limits to Growth, New York, Universe Books, 1973.
6. Jagdish N. Bhagwati, ed., Economics and World Order: From the 1970's to the 1990's, London, Collier-Macmillan, 1972.
7. Richard A. Falk, A Study of Future Worlds, New York, Free Press, 1975.
8. Johan Galtung, The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective, New York, Free Press, 1976.
9. Ali A. Mazrui, A World Federation of Cultures, New York, Free Press, 1976.
10. Rajni Kothari, Footsteps into the Future: Diagnosis of the Present World and a Design for an Alternative, New York, Free Press, 1975.
11. Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990's, New York, Free Press, 1975, for contributions of Sakamoto, von Weizsacker and Paul Lin.

FUTURISTS, SURVIVAL, AND WORLD ORDER
Political Science 53.2972

Dennis Livingston
Spring, 1976

Department of Political Science
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Troy, NY

The Problem

...the external challenge of the human prospect, with its threats of runaway populations, obliterative war, and potential environmental collapse, can be seen as an extended and growing crisis induced by the advent of a command over natural processes and forces that far exceeds the reach of our present mechanisms of social control.

-- Robert Heilbroner, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect

One Solution

Tis the gift to be simple
Tis the gift to be free
Tis the gift to come down
Where we ought to be
And when we find ourselves
In the place just right
Twill be in the valley of love and delight

When true simplicity is gained
To bow and to bend we shan't be shamed
To turn, turn will be our delight
Till by turning, turning, we come round right
-- Shaker hymn, 19th c.

The Transition

We the people of planet earth, with respect for the dignity of each human life, with concern for future generations, with recognition of limits to our resources and with need for adequate food, air, water, shelter, health, protection, justice and self-fulfillment, hereby declare our inter-dependence and resolve to work together in brotherhood and in harmony with our environment to enhance the quality of life everywhere.

-- Russell Peterson, "A Declaration of Inter-Dependence"

The Methodology

I am about to depart on a dangerous and technically unexplainable journey into the stratosphere.

-- Wizard of Oz, Farewell Address to the Emerald City

The Hope

Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.
-- Tennyson

Early-Warning

Science is as yet in its infancy, and we can foretell little of the future save that the thing that has not been is the thing that shall be; that no beliefs, no values, no institutions are safe.

-- J.B.S. Haldane, 1924

But What is Time?

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable.
What might have been is an abstraction
Remaining a perpetual possibility
Only in a world of speculation.
What might have been and what has been
Point to one end, which is always present.
Footfalls echo in the memory
Down the passage which we did not take
Towards the door we never opened
Into the rose-garden. My words echo
Thus, in your mind.
-- T.S. Eliot, "Burnt Norten"

Time is a threefold present,
the present as we experience it,
the past as present memory,
and the future as a present
expectation.
-- St. Augustine

The future can't be foretold, but its conditions can be foretold.

-- H.G. Wells

Quotations from Chairman Will:

The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.
-- "The Tempest"

So distribution should
undo excess and
each man have enough.

The day shall not be up so soon as I
to try the fair adventure of tomorrow.

* * *

Long life, and prosper.

Shanti, shanti, shanti.

* * *

COURSE PURPOSE AND DESIGN

This course seeks to bring together three broad academic concerns relevant to international studies: the extrapolation of international futures; the design of possible, preferential world order models; and the limits to growth debate on the implications and consequences of living on a finite planet.

The gestation of the course lies in the current situation facing humankind, in which the possibility arises that the survival capacity of all peoples, and perhaps the biosphere generally, are threatened by intolerable stresses placed on planetary resources by expanding populations, and in which the reality already exists of terrible material deprivation experienced by a substantial proportion of the human race. This situation is perceived by a substantial proportion of the human race. This situation is perceived as posing a danger to the potential evolution of an international system of world order featuring significant progress toward the achievement of the goals of ending war and environmental imbalances and promoting economic and social justice. My own basic values motivating me to offer this course are that the human race ought to survive and this survival ought to be in conditions of material, social, and individual dignity.

This course rests on the following premises, all of which are open to question in the classroom:

(1) The present international political system is not conducive to either the long-range survival of humanity or the shorter range survival of particular regions;

(2) It is *possible* to design alternative world systems to the status quo that would be more conducive to survival with dignity and that are "real," that is, both conceivable and feasible;

(3) There is *time*, in the "outside world," to design and implement such alternative world futures (if not, the focus of the course would be properly elsewhere, *e.g.*, learning wilderness skills).

Until recent years, "survival" threats to humanity were usually identified with the possibilities for international conflict in general, and for nuclear war in particular, and the corresponding response was to speculate about various arrangements to deal with war prevention and conflict management. But now it seems that there has been a proliferation in the ways we could do ourselves in, comprehended by what might be called the limits to growth hypothesis - the projection which indicates that trends in population growth, food production, resource use, pollution, and industrial growth, if not in some sense checked, will result in drastic results within a century or so. This apprehension is obviously related to problems of international conflict, but also deserves attention in its own right by those interested in envisioning preferred world futures. The substantive concern of the course, then, is the implications of the limits to growth hypothesis for world order design and, conversely, the relevance of world order design to dealing with actual and potential limits to growth problems.

It might occur to one that there is an immediate problem with this approach; the limits to growth perspective, and the technique of computer modeling on which it is based, are hardly accepted by all those with the requisite technical skills. What if this perspective is simply wrong? Putting it another way, what if a radical (in the sense of fundamental) alteration of domestic and international institutions and functions which the world order view portends is simply unnecessary, either because the computer models are based on faulty premises or because whatever limits to growth problems do exist can be solved by technological progress and traditional market mechanisms? One response is that the spinning out of world order designs is still a worthwhile educational enterprise for whatever good it does to stretch one's imagination, to draw away from the assumption that what exists is what is best and will last forever. But more to the point, the very questions raised about possible limits to growth can be co-opted into the course - this controversy is itself part of the design process, and as long as there is a significant body of professional opinion that more or less agrees with the limits hypothesis, as there is, additional validity is lent to the enterprise of acting on the belief that the hypothesis is real. Moreover, it is apparent that, whatever the global prospects, various regions and localities are even now facing their own versions of limits to growth, for whatever reasons - natural, political, or economic. That is, it is sufficient reason to engage in world order design that much of the world presently suffers from problems of distributive justice which cannot be cured by technology or changes in prices alone. Some alteration in political power relationships seems called for in order to realize a more just world, even if one assumes there is no ultimate danger of resource scarcity or universal smog.

With this background in mind, the following learning objectives are set for students in the course:

(1) To become familiar with problems and opportunities associated with both extrapolative and anticipatory forecasting;
(2) To understand the contours of the present international political system and significant trends influencing its future development;
(3) To study the methods of designing preferred alternative futures, and to carry out research and writing on such designs;
(4) To understand the global problems expressed by the limits to growth hypothesis and the implications of these problems for possible future international systems;
(5) To make explicit one's own sense of personal values relating to preferred world futures, to integrate these values into the design process, and to achieve some sense of how one's future career and lifestyle plans might aid the achievement of the preferred future envisaged.

These objectives are to be realized through the major student enterprise in the course, the writing of a paper describing in detail a world order design that is relevant to the solution or amelioration of any particular aspect of the limits to growth controversy. With certain students, that might be all the instruction necessary to stimulate the necessary work; but in the setting of a technical university such as Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, where students have relatively little time to invest in non-professional courses, I have found it desirable to offer a structured outline of the formal steps I expect to be covered in the paper. These steps must be followed, but within their bounds, students may be as imaginative as they wish. The model is written cumulatively throughout the semester, as students hand in subsections corresponding to each step, with continual opportunity for feedback and revision of prior thoughts.

I have taken the outline for the process of working through a world order design primarily from Soroos, with additional suggestions from the work of Kent, Walbek, and Beres and Targ.[1] In brief, this process is as follows:

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[1] Marvin S. Soroos, "A Methodological Overview of the Process of Designing Alternative World Futures," in Louis R. Beres and Harry Targ, eds., Planning for Global Design, New York: Praeger, 1975; Norman V. Walbek, "Developing a World Order Monitoring System," a paper presented to the International Studies Association Southern Region, 1974; George Kent, Plan for Designing the Future and Political Design, University of Hawaii, 1972 (Dimensionality of Nations Project, Research Reports Nos. 60 and 63); Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet; Constructing Alternative World Futures, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1973 (this book is one of the required texts for the course). As one example of world order design, students also read Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn, Introduction to World Peace Through World Law, World Without
(continued)

(1) Values Clarification. To talk about a "preferred" world immediately connotes value choices, the necessity to specify what values ought to be maximized to make for a "good" world. The sources of these values are the student's beliefs, experiences, and research relevant to questions of human nature and potential. To aid students' clarification of the values they wish to see realized in a "better" world, at the beginning of the class they are asked to write three general statements describing their hopes, fears, and expectations about the future and their place in the future.[2]

(2) Analysis of the Present and Near-Future. As Thoreau said, castles in the air must have foundations under them, and the world order student must have a firm appreciation for the characteristics of the present international system and the most significant trends influencing its development.[3]

(3) Design Construction. In the world order context, the issue here is what should be, not what will probably be. The student is to portray an alternative future, walking the thin line between feasibility and desirability without letting the former obliterate a vision of the latter. Three components comprise this stage:

(a) Design Hypothesis. Beres and Targ emphasize the necessity of making explicit the assumptions, the premises, the basic principles on which the design is based by stating an hypothesis relating certain institutional and/or behavioral changes on the part of defined actors in specified directions to the consequences favorable to survival, deemed to follow. The Beres and Targ book offers many such hypotheses relevant to war prevention which can stimulate the student's thinking about equivalent formulations for limits to growth problems.

War Publications, 1973, a booklet which also contains an account of the process followed in the World Order Models Project, by Saul Mendlovitz and Thomas G. Weiss. The design process described in the text below is largely a summary and paraphrase of this material, especially the Soroos piece.

[2] The guide for this task is provided by: David C. Miller and Ronald L. Hunt, Hopes and Fears Switchboard: A Unit in the Advent Education Program, San Francisco: DCM Associates, 1973. (The publisher's address is 908 Fox Plaza, San Francisco, CA 94102).

[3] This analysis is carried out in the classroom, using the following: Seyom Brown, New Forces in World Politics, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1974; and Donella H. Meadows, et al., The Limits to Growth, New York: Universe Books, 1974.

(b) Design Questions. The hypothesis evokes a series of questions, guiding further inquiry, on the nature and interaction of the actors and processes with which one is dealing. As the design proceeds, the student may have time to speak to only the most significant of these questions.

(c) The Model. This is the heart of the matter, an image of a preferred future. Exactly what goes into the model is up to the student, but there must be some depiction of the kinds of actors or special units involved, the functions they carry out or the decisions they make, and the relationships or structures that exist among them to implement their decisions.[4]

(4) Transition Scenario. The vision here is made "real" by linking it with the present. This scenario, in effect, is a short, narrative science fiction story describing the major steps, the turning points, the significant processes that lead us from now to the world of the model. The time sequence of the transition may be either from the present to the future, or vice versa; what matters is that the steps be logically connected. As Walbek suggests, included in the scenario should be some indication of what world order indicators might be suitable for monitoring progress or lack of it over the time span of the transition; that is, how might we know, in any feasible statistical sense, that we are making headway toward the preferred future?

(5) Design Evaluation. This is an assessment of the quality of the design -- how well it hangs together. Soroos provides several criteria for evaluation, including the relationship of the hypothesis to the model, ability of the model to realize the stated values, and the likelihood the transition stated will result in the future postulated. At this stage, my students are asked to describe how well their models might enable those who live in them (the preferred worlds) to anticipate problems that arise in *their* future, and what undesirable consequences might accompany the implementation of the design.

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[4] As befits the world order perspective, the hypotheses relate not only to the traditional subjects of international relations - states, governments, international organizations - but also to movements and structures at the subnational and transnational levels as well. Examples of all limits to growth hypotheses might relate lowering of population growth rates to changes in domestic political systems offering more job opportunities to women; prevention of marine pollution by the global regulation of activities of multinational oil companies; great increases in recycling processes to the spread of the environmental ethic as a social religion; wide usage of alternative energy sources based on renewable resources to the development on a significant scale of decentralized political communities; and so forth.

This framework fits well in the context of a twelve week semester, but if a course has more time, additional steps can be added to it. For example, it would be valuable for students to exchange summaries of each other's models for comparison, and class evaluation of those might be more preferable and feasible than others. Such models could also be sent for evaluation to faculty on or off campus who are experts in the particular limits to growth sectors considered by the papers, with any criticism used to prepare further drafts. It would also be interesting to see if any consensus emerges from the class as to any vision most appealing, most worth working for of all considered, and how students and teachers might orient their professional and personal lives during the proposed transition.

Finally, I impose one requirement of style on students. As an experiment in values clarification, and as a stimulus to conceiving alternative futures, students are asked to use non-sexist language in all writing done for the course. As a guide to such language, the class reads the booklet entitled *Guidelines for Equal Treatment of the Sexes in McGraw-Hill Publications*, issued by McGraw-Hill publishers for their trade editions. This requirement itself pre-supposes and anticipates the achievement of one particular world order vision that appeals to me and which is quite relevant to the concerns of the course; thus the educational utility of this exercise is to get students thinking about social change in relation to institutional alterations, something they otherwise (in my experience) little appreciate.

REQUIRED READINGS

Beres, Louis Rene and Harry R. Targ, *Reordering the Planet*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1974.

Brown, Seyom, *New Forces in World Politics*. (Brookings Institution) N.Y.: Vintage, 1972.

Clark, Grenville and Louis Sohn, *Introduction to World Peace Through World Law*. Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1973.

Gray, Elizabeth and David Dodson, *Growth and Its Implications for the Future*. Dinosaur Press, 1975.

ASSIGNMENTS & CLASS SCHEDULE

The course grade is based on 3 pieces of writing, indicated below. In addition, you will do some field research for the Troy in the World/The World in Troy Project, as explained in class.

Part I. *Introduction: Living in a Transnational World*

Jan. 13-15, *What is World Order, and Who Wants It Anyway?*
Soroos, "A Methodological Overview of the Process of Designing Alternative World Futures," in L. Beres &

H. Targ, eds., Planning Alternative Futures. N.Y.: Praeger, 1975, pp. 1-11.
Beres & Targ, Reordering the Planet, pp. 9-42.
Clark & Sohn, pp. 74-97.

Jan. 20-22, Transnationalism and the Troy Project
R. Keohane & J. Nye, Transnational Relations & World Politics. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1972, Introduction and Conclusion.
C. Alger, "Foreign Policies of United States Publics," Columbus: Mershon Center, Ohio State University, 1975 (mimeo).

Part II. The International System Today
Note: Begin data gathering for Troy Project in this period.

Jan. 27-29, Theories of the International System
Beres & Targ, pp. 46-62, 144-149, 161-178.

Feb. 3-12, The International System in Flux
Brown, pp. 1-181.

Feb. 17, First Exam (essay questions).

Part III. Challenge from the Limits to Growth
Note: Undertake field interviews for Troy Project in this period.

Feb. 19, The Big Picture
Handler, "On the State of Man," National Academy of Sciences, 1975.
Kahn, "A World Turning Point -- And a Better Prospect for the Future" and "Things Are Going Rather Well: A State-of-the-World Message."
Carl Kaysen, "The Computer That Printed Out W*O*L*F," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 50, July 1972, pp. 660-668.
Emile Benoit, "Must Growth Stop?" (1974).

Feb. 24 - March 4, Sectorial Overviews
Gray, pp. 97-176.

March 16-18, Toward a New International Economic Order
Kissinger, "Energy, Raw Materials, and Development"
Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, "What Now: Another Development" (all).

March 19-29, Holidays

March 30, Second Exam (a 5 pp. research paper on your specific transition strategies for any slice of limits to growth problem areas).

Part V. Alternative World Futures

Note: Hand in brief write-up of your findings in Troy Project anytime during this period.

March 30 - April 9, Models of Centralization
Beres & Targ, pp. 92-143, 179-259.
Brown, pp. 185-216.
Clark & Sohn, pp. 3-73.

April 13-15, Models of Decentralization
Beres & Targ, pp. 63-91, 149-157.
Roszak, "The Visionary Commonwealth"
G. Jonas, "The Shaker Revival," in D. A. Wolheim & T. Carr, eds., *World's Best Science Fiction*. Ace, 1971, pp. 263-292.

Part VI. Troy and A Transnational World

April 20-29, class discussion and compilation of final report on Troy Project

May 3, Third Exam (a 5 pp. design of your preferred world order system; elements of the design are explained in Soroos, pp. 12-28, elsewhere in this syllabus, and in class).

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD
International Studies 301/Government 304

Neil Richardson
Fall, 1976

International Studies/Government
University of Texas
Austin, TX

This course examines social, demographic, economic, and political prospects facing nations and people -- rich and poor -- and those prospects are particularly influenced by foreseeable population increases, depleting natural resources, continuing technologies in change, and international cooperation and conflict.

The readings and discussion include a broad range of materials and ideas focusing on the next 5 to 100 years. Thus, some elements of the course will be more "concrete" than others.

The three major divisions of the course are: (1) the global future -- the predictable (?) directions of change in the central aspects of global human activity, including population, resources, technology, food, and industrialization; (2) international dimensions -- how nations are likely to behave toward each other in a world where inequalities and violence threaten human well-being; (3) alternative international futures -- probable changes in international relations, their potential consequences, and how international relations may be altered by individual and collective action.

The syllabus is attached, specifying dates for topics, assigned reading, and examinations. There will be two mid-terms and one final examination. The mid-terms count thirty (30) percent apiece and the final exam counts forty (40) percent toward the grade you receive for the course.

Books to be purchased for the course are three, all paperbacks. They are listed below with abbreviations for future reference.

Lester Brown, World Without Borders. New York: Random House, 1973. (Brown)
Mesarovic and Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1975. (M/P)
Herman Daly, Toward a Steady-State Economy. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973. (Daly)

In addition, you will read the following articles which have been placed on reserve at the undergraduate library.

Walter Laqueur, "The Gathering Storm." (Laqueur)
John Platt, "What We Must Do." (Platt)

DATE		TOPIC	ASSIGNMENT
8/31	9/2	INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	Brown, Ch. 1 Laquer
		I. THE GLOBAL FUTURE	
		A. The History of the Future	
9/7 9/14	9/9	1. The Nature of Global Phenomena	Daly, Chs. 1, 5 M/P, Chs. 1, 2
9/16	9/21	2. Multiple Crises	Daly, Chs. 2, 3 M/P, Ch. 3
9/23	9/28	B. Forecasts	Daly, Chs. 6, 14
9/30		FIRST MID-TERM EXAMINATION	
		II. INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS	
10/5	10/7	A. Inequalities	Brown, Chs. 2, 3
10/12 10/19	10/14 10/21	B. Consequences of Continued Inequalities	Brown, Chs. 4, 5, 6 M/P, Chs. 4, 5, 6
10/26	10/28	C. Balancing the Scales	Brown, Chs. 7, 8, 9 M/P, Ch. 7
11/2		SECOND MID-TERM EXAMINATION	
		III. ALTERNATIVE INTERNATIONAL FUTURES	
11/4	11/9	A. Interdependencies	Brown, Chs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 M/P, Ch. 8 Platt
		B. Changing the Agents of Control	
11/16	11/18	1. Individual Action	Daly, Ch. 11
11/23 12/2	11/30	2. Alternative Organization	Daly, Chs. 7, 10 M/P, Chs. 9, 10 Brown, Ch. 15
12/7	12/9	C. Summary	M/P, Ch. 11 Brown, Chs. 16, 17
		FINAL EXAMINATION	

THE USES OF LITERARY UTOPIAS

Robert F. Sayre
Fall, 1975

Department of English
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA

1. The objectives of the course will be to acquaint students with the varieties of literary utopias, historical and modern, and with their uses and limitations. The course is to be designed with the needs of world order studies students particularly in mind (and with consideration for the fact that most of them will not know very much literary history), but it will still be primarily a course in literature. It will concentrate on myths and archetypes of the good and/or impossible society, ways of conceiving it and thinking about the future (or past), and the relevance of these materials and activities to the present and immediate future. Thus, the course should answer (and stimulate) students' curiosity about utopian literature and help them to find its value.

2. Program. Traditionally, literary uptopias have been of four kinds, each emphasizing one of the four major uses of utopias.

a) Ideal worlds which may be worked for or used as standards of judgement and behavior even if not reached.
b) Critiques and satires of actual worlds.
c) Predictions and prophecies of future worlds.
d) Satires on utopian speculators, escapists, philosophers, and visionaries themselves.

Many literary utopias actually contain elements of all these purposes at once, but this division will serve as a way of organizing the major portion of the course. The first twelve weeks of a fifteen-week semester would be divided into four 3-week periods on works which best illustrated the four uses. For example:

a) The Republic, The New Testament, and Bacon's New Atlantis
b) More's Utopia, Zamiatin's We
c) Bellamy's Looking Backward, Marx (work not chosen), and Huxley's Island
d) Aristophanes' The Clouds and Shakespeare's As You Like It

I chiefly wish to illustate that there is balance by contrast and contradiction in the utopian tradition, something often overlooked and most important to realize now. I hope to be able to make this same point with some more recent works too and from studying some modern authors like Vonnegut and Pynchon who are more conscious manipulators and reconstructionists of the utopian tradition. In any case, students will also be asked to read, concurrently, from a supplemental list of utopias. Where they are already well-acquainted with some works above, they will be able to broaden their backgrounds and introduce other works as alternative "utopian proposals."

The last three weeks of the semester will be spent on other utopias--or related works--from outside Western civilization. The reasons for this are, obviously, that we ought to know such books, understanding the purposes of other people, and that we have a great deal to learn from them.

3. Issues, Secondary Reading. A major problem in the course will be the contemporary disillusionment with the utopian tradition. The well-planned State is, for many people, not a dream but the nightmare in which we live. Thus, the dominant image in the great utopias of the past, the City which organizes and administers the surrounding land or island, is unattractive not only for its impositions on personal freedom but for its general unwisdom. It encourages false values of consumption, warfare, and ecological disaster. This was certainly not the intention in The Republic, the New Atlantis, and the other great utopias, but the origins of this archetype are nevertheless there, and the ideal suffers as a consequence. The Republic, which was meant to be an example, a city on a hill, is oppressive as a universality.

A similar problem exists when The Republic and other works in the Platonic tradition are read on a psychological level. The pyramid of philosopher-king, guardians, and populace corresponds to the Freudian hierarchy of super-ego, ego, and id. If we adhere to a classical education, we may still value this ideal of conscious dictatorship of intellect over passions and appetities. But we also now realize that our unconscious life cannot be forcibly suppressed; or that if it is, it still rebels and trips us up or comes back to haunt us. A sane man, like a sane society, seeks to be at peace with his unconscious, to listen to it and work with it rather than oppress it. Thus, Herbert Marcuse and other radical Freudians have called for an end to utopian thought in the traditional pattern. Western man must not only liberate himself, he must regain love for the earth that sustains him. The main tradition of utopias, with its rejection of earth and espousal of the other-world of thought and philosophy, appears ultimately self-destructive.

From earlier experiences with utopia courses, I already have a sizable bibliography of this critical literature. But I need more time to extend it and to read it more carefully. Like a good many other people, I presume, I am always on the lookout for that new utopia, that new fiction which will give us an attractive, persuasive image of a new order. Some of the books of the recent past, like the Goodmans' Communitas and Reich's The Greening of America, I need to read through again. And there may be some others from the fifties and sixties which have been overlooked. I would also like to investigate works of anthropology which, in giving comprehensive accounts of the structure and rituals of other societies, provide us with more mirrors of human behavior and images of what we are, what we have been, and what we might be. With these, along with the non-western utopias mentioned earlier, I think I would substantially revise and improve a course in utopian literature.

4. Pedagogy. In most respects, the course will be taught in a fairly traditional manner. There will be some lecturing in order to introduce and explain unfamiliar material. The closer examination of individual texts will be by discussion. At the end of each unit, there will be papers or written exams. Films, like the 1940's Shangrila and the late '50s film of Nevil Shute's On the Beach, if available, will be shown. The notable innovation in the course is to have the students, at the outset, write two very brief utopias of their own: one describing the world as they would like it to be in 20 years, the second describing the world as they expect it to be in 20 years. (If any student, for whatever reasons, thinks those worlds will be the same, he or she can write just one utopia!) Then, through the semester, each student will revise his or her utopias in the light of the continuing study. Some revision would simply reflect changes in goals or expectations. Some others might reflect a student's efforts to involve himself or herself in the avoidance or the worst expectations. But another purpose of this enterprise will be to realize how the utopias can be used--as ideals, satires, admonitions, and even personal self-criticism. And so further kinds of revision would be specifically literary. They might be changes in point of view, so that a ruler was seen from a different angle. They might be changes in tone, mocking ideals and rituals instead of praising them. Or they might be changes in character or elaboration, so that a horror was made humorous, bearable, or pleasurable. These will be the paper assignments and they will be more than rhetorical exercises. They are ways of expanding one's vision and power over one's self and one's world. And so they are also ways of helping participants in the course to accomplish their preparation for whatever world, will it or nill it, they live in. For utopias are, as all the great academicians know, books and devices of education. And maybe by the end the students will appreciate this!

At the end will be a final exam on the reading and the classroom exercises with the "Uses of Utopias." "To what extent," an exam would ask, "are the following works satires and to what extent ideals?" "Why do some utopian writers mock their own ideals?" "Are utopias based in the present or the future?" "How can we change utopia so that we can live with it?"

Reading List

Required:

Aristophanes. The Clouds.
Bellamy. Looking Backwards.
Engels. Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.
More, Thomas. Utopia.
Morris, William. News From Nowhere.
Pirsig, Robert. Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance.
Shakespeare, William. As You Like It.
Wells, H. G. War of the Worlds.
West, Nathaniel. The Day of the Locust.
West, Nathaniel. Miss Lonely Hearts.
Zamiatin, Evganii. We.

Supplementary:

Bowman, Sylvia. Edward Bellamy Abroad: An American Prophet's Influence.
Frye, Nothrop. The Anatomy of Criticism.
Goodman, Paul & Goodman, Percival. Communitas.
Hillegas, Mark. The Future as Nightmare: H. G. Wells and the Anti-Utopians.
Kateb, George. Utopia.
Kateb, George. Utopia and Its Enemies.
Kermode, Frank. The Sense of an Ending.
Kohak, Erazi. "Requiem for Utopia: Socialist Reflections on Czechoslovakia," Dissent, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1969).
Mannheim, Karl. Ideology and Utopia.
Manuel, Frank. Utopias and Utopian Thought.
Marcuse, Herbert. Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud.
Morgan, Arthur E. Plagiarism in Utopia.
Mumford, Lewis. The Story of Utopias.
Mumford, Lewis. The Myth of the Machine: Technics and the Nature of Man.
Orwell, George. Collected Essays.
Philmus, Robert M. Into the Unknown: The Evolution of Science Fiction from Francis Godwin to H. G. Wells.
Sayre, Robert F. "Saturnalia," The Nation, Vol. 212 (Sept. 12, 1970).
Walsh, Chad. From Utopia to Nightmare.
Zamiatin, Evganii. A Soviet Heretic: Essay by Yevgenv Zamyatin.

HISTORY OF THE FUTURE
History 123

W. Warren Wagar
Fall, 1976

Department of History
State University of New York
at Binghamton
Binghamton, NY

COURSE OBJECTIVES

1. To identify main trends in the history of humankind from the Stone Age to the Stoned Age, singling out those which may have the heaviest bearing on our future evolution.
2. To analyze recent research by social and natural scientists on the shape of the human future.
3. To explore visions of the future in literature, utopography, and films.
4. To clarify our personal expectations of what may happen to humankind, and define the world we would prefer to see emerge during the next one hundred years.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Reading: Four non-fiction titles and five novels. The non-fiction consists of: Lester R. Brown, World Without Borders (Vintage, 1973); Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point (Dutton, 1974); W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man (Freeman, 1972); and William H. McNeill, A World History, Second Edition (Oxford, 1971). The purchase of McNeil is optional. The novels are John Brunner, The Sheep Look Up (Ballantine, 1973); Arthur Koestler, The Call Girls (Dell, 1973); Walter M. Miller, Jr., A Canticle for Leibowitz (Bantam, 1961); William Morris, News From Nowhere (Routledge, 1970--first published in 1890); and Yevgeny Zamyatin, We (Bantam, 1972--first published in 1924).
2. Written Work:

   A. Mid-term examination. Required of all students, this examination will be given in class at the end of Topic 14 on the syllabus. The probable date is October 25.

B. Project. Choose one of the following:

(1) A comparative critique of six films about the future, chosen from our Future Film Festival (see the program for details). Due date: December 10.

(2) A research essay, or 2,000 to 3,000 words in length (= seven to ten average typewritten pages), on one of the following futurists, based on his writing: Daniel Bell, Arthur C. Clarke, R. Buckminster Fuller, Dennis Gabor, Aldous Huxley, Herman Kahn, Herbert Marcuse, John McHale, Lewis Mumford, B. F. Skinner, Alvin Toffler, H. G. Wells. Due date: November 29.

(3) A short story, poem, one-act play, or other creative literary piece about the future. Other possibilities include an article from a magazine of the future, or a chapter from a future book. Due date: November 29.

C. Final exercise. Choose either of the following:

(1) Final examination covering the entire semester's work and written at home. Due date: December 20.

(2) Term paper, about 5,000 words in length (fifteen average typewritten pages), devoted to a problem in futures. Please have your topic approved in advance by the instructor. Sample possibilities: the future of sex, the population bomb in India, biomedical frontiers, a model of world order. Due date: December 13.

TOPICS

A. Introduction

1. Why the World Will End Early in the Morning on September 29, 1997
2. The Infant Science of Futures

B. Patterns of the Past

3. The Shapes of World History

McNeill, Preface and Introductions to Parts I-IV, pp. v-vii, 3-6, 127-30, 289-93, and 405, 407.

4. Traditional Man/Woman

McNeill, Part I, pp. 7-118 (and skim Part II, pp. 131-278).

5. Industrial Man/Woman

McNeill, Part IV, chs. 26-28, pp. 409-80 (after skimming Part III, pp. 295-398).

6. The Death of God
7. The Age of Armageddon

McNeill, Part IV, chs. 29-30, pp. 481-531.
Brown, ch. 1, pp. 4-12.
Wagar, ch. 1, pp. 3-26.

8. Revolutionary Man/Woman

C. The Future of the Earth

9. The Earth as a System

Mesarovic and Pestel, chs. 1-3, pp. 1-31.

10. People and Food

Mesarovic and Pestel, ch. 6, pp. 70-82; and pp. 165-73 and 180-96.
Brown, ch. 6, pp. 88-110; and ch. 8, pp. 132-54.

11. The Minerals Gap

Mesarovic and Pestel, chs. 7-8, pp. 83-114; and pp. 174-80.

12. Fouling the Nest

Brown, ch. 2, pp. 15-29.

13. The Limits to Growth

Mesarovic and Pestel, chs. 4-5, pp. 32-69.
Brown, ch. 2, pp. 30-40; and chs. 3-5, pp. 41-87.

14. Deus ex Machina

Mesarovic and Pestel, chs. 9-11, pp. 115-57; Commentary, pp. 200-08.

D. The Future of Institutions

15. The Warfare State

Brown, chs. 9-10, pp. 155-208.

16. Scenarios of World War Three

17. Models of World Order

    Brown, chs. 12-15, pp. 230-318.
    Wagar, ch. 7, pp. 139-46.

18. Classes and Masses

    Brown, ch. 11, pp. 209-29; and ch. 16, pp. 322-41.
    Wagar, ch. 7, pp. 146-64.

19. Men, Women, and Children

    Wagar, ch. 5, pp. 97-118.

20. The Future of Education

    Brown, ch. 7, pp. 113-31.
    Wagar, ch. 6, pp. 119-38.

21. The Biocrats: Biological Engineering
22. The Psychocrats: Behavioral Engineering

E. The Future of Values

23. Beyond Good and Evil
24. The Idea of World Civilization

    Wagar, ch. 2, pp. 27-47; and ch. 4, pp. 77-96.

25. Strategies for World Renewal

    Brown, ch. 17, pp. 342-64.
    Wagar, ch. 3, pp. 48-74.

26. The Deep End

    Wagar, ch. 8, pp. 165-78.

DISCUSSION TOPICS

Sept. 3 "Are Future Studies Academically Respectable, and Does It Matter?"

Sept. 10 Miller, A Canticle for Leibowitz

Sept. 17 "The Meanings of World History"

Oct. 1 Aldous Huxley's Ape and Essence, readings by Mr. Wagar

Oct. 8 Brunner, The Sheep Look Up

Oct. 15	Films: Soylent Green and No Blade of Grass
Oct. 22	Mesarovic and Pestel, Mankind at the Turning Point
Oct. 29	Films: Things to Come and On the Beach
Nov. 5	Morris, News from Nowhere
Nov. 12	Film: Metropolis
Nov. 19	Zamyatin, We; and film: Nineteen Eighty-Four
Dec. 3	Koestler, The Call Girls
Dec. 10	Films: Fahrenheit 451 and A Clockwork Orange

FUTURE FILM FESTIVAL

Oct. 5 Soylent Green

United States, 1973; directed by Richard Fleischer, with Charlton Heston and Edward G. Robinson, from the novel by Harry Harrison (137 mintues).

Oct. 12 No Blade of Grass

United States, 1970; directed by Cornel Wilde, with Nigel Davenport and Jean Wallace, from the novel by John Christopher (97 mintues).

Oct. 19 Things to Come

Britain, 1936; directed by William Cameron Menzies, with Raymond Massey, Ralph Richardson, and Cedric Hardwicke, and screenplay by H. G. Wells, from his own novel (92 mintues).

Oct. 26 On the Beach

United States, 1959; directed by Stanley Kramer, with Gregory Peck and Ava Gardner, from the novel by Nevil Shute (133 minutes).

Nov. 2 Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

United States, 1964; directed by Stanley Kubrick, with Peter Sellers and George C. Scott, and screenplay by Stanley Kubrick, Terry Southern, and Peter George, from the novel by Peter George (93 minutes).

Nov. 9 Metropolis

Germany, 1926; directed by Fritz Lang, with Brigette Helm (133 minutes, silent).

Nov. 16 Nineteen Eighty-Four

Britain, 1956; directed by Michael Anderson, with Edmund O'Brien and Jan Sterling, from the novel by George Orwell (91 minutes).

Nov. 30 Fahrenheit 451

Britain, 1966; directed by Francois Truffaut, with Oskar Werner and Julie Christie, from the novel by Ray Bradbury (112 minutes).

Dec. 7 A Clockwork Orange

Britain, 1971; directed by Stanley Kubrick, with Malcolm McDowell and Patrick Magee, from the novel by Anthony Burgess (137 minutes).

MID-TERM STUDY QUESTIONS

1. "Globalization" is a process that has changed the home of the human race from many worlds to one world. How and why did this process occur during the last five hundred years?

2. On the front of the National Archives building in Washington, D.C. are inscribed the words, "The past is prologue." On the basis of your readings and the lectures, write a coherent essay discussing the utility of historical study in constructing an idea of the future. Justify your arguments with appropriate references and citations.

3. How did civilization (i.e., urbanized societies founded on commercial agriculture) originate?

4. Compare the Leibowitzian monks of Miller's A Canticle for Leibowitz and the Trainite gangs of Brunner's The Sheep Look Up. In what ways are their responses to their respective "future" environments similar? In what ways different? How are their responses and actions valid or invalid? Support your answers by appropriate references to these novels, by material from the lectures and readings, and, if to the point, from any future films you have seen.

5. "The problem with the world today is the growth of wealth, not the persistence of poverty." Explain and comment, with special reference to the ecological future.

6. Despite the frequently heard claim that we live in one world, there are actually two worlds today, the North and the South (Lester R. Brown). What are the prospects for the disappearance of the economic gulf between these two "worlds" during the next twenty-five years?

7. In Building the City of Man, the instructor describes the enemy of modern civilization as "the geometrically accelerating pace of change in the growth of all the powers of mankind." Do you agree with him, or do you see another enemy or enemies? Be as specific as you wish, drawing on lectures, films (if seen), and readings in framing your response.

8. You are the ruler of a country that has 450,000,000 people. Forecasters and futurists who are employed by the government have advised you that within the next five to ten years, crop yields will plummet, famine will be a certainty with a possible death toll of 100,000,000 people, and the population of your underdeveloped nation will grow at an anticipated rate of 2.5% per year. What decisions and steps will you take to alleviate or find solutions for the anticipated problems?

9. Do you foresee an "energy crisis" continuing from now well into the twenty-first century, and why or why not?

10. Do the themes of A Canticle for Leibowitz and The Sheep Look Up help confirm the hypothesis that futurists are simply observers of the contemporary scene who spread alarm about current distresses?

FINAL EXAMINATION

Instructions: Answer one question in each of the three sections of this examination. All three answers combined must be written on no more than eight double-spaced typewritten pages or two four-leaved examination booklets, and must be returned to LT-604 any time before high noon, Wednesday, December 17. If no one is in the office when you come by, slip your answers under the door. You may attach a self-addressed stamped post card if you wish to have your final examination and/or semester grade mailed to your home. Good luck and live happily ever after or until doomsday, as the case may be!

A. The Future of Conflict

1. California ecologist Garrett Hardin urges us to resort to "lifeboat ethics" as food and mineral supplies run short in coming decades. In other words, the countries that have ample supplies should do whatever is necessary to safeguard their survival, and not attempt to share with the "have-not" countries. If more or less full lifeboats (the "have" countries) try to rescue the many passengers from the sunken ship who are swimming helplessly in the sea (the "have-not" countries), says Hardin, the only result can be universal disaster: everyone will drown. Hardin's lifeboat ethics dictate that the fortunate countries stop pretending they can solve other people's problems and look to their own survival in desperate times.

   Is Hardin's analogy sound? Will nations adopt lifeboat ethics in response to severe food and mineral shortfalls in the next hundred years? Should they?

2. "Human history is the history of war. There have always been wars. There will always be wars."

   Discuss, with special reference to the prospects for future world wars on the scale of 1914-18 and 1939-45.

B. Freedom and Power

3. Which vision of the future seems the more plausible to you, and why: the continuing plurality of nation-states in Brunner's Stand on Zanzibar or the "One State" of Zamyatin's We?

4. "Freedom, after all, is ignorance. If we don't know the reason for somebody's doing something, we proclaim that he did it because he was 'free.' In the next century, we shall fill in the gaps in our ignorance. We shall engineer human happiness by knowing what people really need and showing them how to get it with a minimum of suffering and strife. In doing so, we shall abolish the 'freedom' we never had anyway in order to secure the happiness we always wanted but were afraid to seek."

   Discuss. Will world government or world management of human affairs on a rational, scientific basis spell the end of human freedom, or the beginning, or just more of the same?

C. Wealth and Growth

5. "It's the spread of wealth that threatens the environment." (Jean Mayer in Falk's This Endangered Planet)

What are the prospects for the future "spread of wealth" and how does it threaten the environment?

6. "The problem is that the challenge to survival still lies sufficiently far in the future, and the inertial momentum of the present industrial order is still so great, that no substantial voluntary diminution of growth, much less a planned reorganization of society, is today even remotely imaginable." (Economist Robert L. Heilbroner in An Inquiry into the Human Prospect, 1974)

   What is Heilbroner talking about? Is disaster, however great or however certain, still too far away to shake us loose from present policies and attitudes toward industrail growth?

H. SOCIAL/SYSTEM CHANGE

YOU AND YOUR COMMUNITY IN THE WORLD
Political Science 105

Chadwick Alger
Spring, 1977

Department of Political Science
Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

You are involved in a multitude of international activities throughout each day--as consumer of food and energy, as consumer of products of multinational corporations and imported goods, as consumer of news and knowledge from around the world, as a person involved in nongovernmental and governmental organizations who carry out foreign policies in your behalf. What does your behavior imply about your personal foreign policies? Why are you not more self-consciously aware of these policies? Are they leading toward a future world that you really desire? How can you develop personal foreign policies that more faithfully reflect your personal values? How can you implement such policies?

This course will help you to answer these questions. It evolves out of a project that has investigated the ways in which people in the Columbus metropolitan area link to the world-- agriculture, medicine, ethnic groups, Blacks, trade, religion, voluntary assistance, banking, travel, university, etc. International experts in the Columbus area will share their expertise with the class. Readings will provide a global context for considering the links between individual foreign policies and solutions to global problems.

I. Books

A. Books to be Purchased

C. F. Alger and D. Hoovler, "Perceiving and Evaluating Your Actual and Potential Routes for International Involvement."

Lester Brown, World Without Borders. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

David H. Blake and Robert S. Walters, The Politics of Global Economic Relations. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Richard Falk, "Future Worlds," Headline Series, Foreign Policy Association, No. 229, 1976.

B. Other Readings

Charles R. Beitz and Theodore Herman, Peace and War. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1973, pp. 270-377.

II. Course Objectives

The general purpose of this course will be achieved if each student attains the nine objectives listed below. These objectives will be achieved through a variety of methods: reading, exercises in Alger-Hoovler, participation in class by local people involved in international activity, and slide-tape shows in class. The nine objectives are listed below along with the primary method that will be used to attain each objective.

Objective 1: Self-inventory of personal international involvements, goals, loyalties and beliefs.

Method: Exercises in Alger and Hoovler.

Objective 2: Acquire an overview of world problems.

Method: Reading Brown, World Without Borders.

Objective 3: Acquire elementary knowledge about alternative theories, and assumptions about global peace and cooperation--such as balance of power, collective security, functionalism, integration, etc.

Method: Lectures in class.

Objective 4: Acquire knowledge about the diversity of international activities and roles in most communities.

Method:
(1) Exercises in Alger and Hoovler.
(2) Class speakers who are involved in international activity in Columbus with respect to trade, banking, voluntary organizations, religion, and multinational corporations.

Objective 5: Obtain the ability to evaluate foreign policies in terms of your personal values and goals.

Method: Exercises in Alger and Hoovler.

Objective 6: Acquire elementary knowledge about international economics.

Method: Reading Blake and Walters.

Objective 7: Acquire an overview of the organization and activities of the United Nations system.

Method: Seven slide-tape shows to be shown in class.

Objective 8: Develop the ability to think about alternative future forms of world order.

Method: Reading Richard Falk, "Future Worlds."

Objective 9: Learn about the variety of routes to international involvement and develop an ability to choose which are relevant for specific problems.

Method: Exercises in Alger and Hoovler.

III. Class Calendar

The class calendar (attached) lists required preparation outside of class each day and activity in class for each day. Friday class periods have been left blank in order to permit some degree of flexibility in scheduling class activity. All exercises shall be turned in the day after they are scheduled for outside class preparation.

The following abbreviations have been used for readings:

A-H refers to Alger and Hoovler
B-W refers to Blake and Walters
B-H refers to Beitz and Hermann

IV. Grades

Grades will be based on the following:

Exercises (full credit only for those turned in on time).
Examinations (on Brown - January 17; Blake-Walters - February 2; and one other to be announced later).
Class participation.

Week of:	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Jan. 3 Outside class:	Prelim. exer. In A-H	A-H 1-20, Exer. 1	A-H 20-29 Exer. 2,3	Brown 1-57	Brown 58-131
In class:	Slide show: "Foreign Policies in Local Comm's"	Prelim. exer. in A-H	Exer. 1: Clarifying Goals	Exer. 2,3 Human cultures & loyalty	
Jan. 10 Outside class:	Brown 132-180	Brown 181-300	Brown 301-364	Review Brown	Review Brown
In class:	Brown 1-131	Brown 132-180	Brown 181-300	Brown 301-364	
Jan. 17 Outside class:	A-H 29-35 Exer. 4,5	B-W 1-41	B-W 42-76	B-W 76-126	B-W 127-142
In class:	Exam on Brown	UN slide show I	UN slide show II	Exer. 4,5 Ways to Peace	
Jan. 24 Outside class:	B-W 143-167	B-W 168-196	B-W 197-236	A-H 36-46, Exer. 6	Review B-W
In class:	Lecture: Int'l Rel. Theories	Lecture: Int'l Rel. Theories	Lecture: Int'l Rel. Theories	B-W 1-76	
Jan. 31 Outside class:	Review B-W	Review B-W	A-H 47-48, Exer. 7	Exer. 7 (A-H)	A-H 49-59, Exer. 8
In class:	B-W 76-167	B-W 168-236	Exam on B-W	Guest Speaker: Trade	

Week of:	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Feb. 7 Outside class:	Exer. 8 (A-H)	A-H 59-66, Exer. 9: MNC	Exer. 9 (A-H)	A-H 67-69, Exer. 10: MNC	Exer. 10 (A-H)
In class:	Guest Speaker: Banking	Guest Speaker: Voluntary Org.	Exer. 8: Int'l Links of City	UN slide show III	
Feb. 14 Outside class:	A-H 70-71, Exer. 11	Exer. 11 (A-H): University	A-H 71-78, Exer. 12	Exer. 12 (A-H): Church	A-H 79-80, Exer. 13
In class:	UN slide show IV	Exer. 9,10	Guest Speaker: MNC	Guest Speaker: University	
Feb. 21 Outside class:	Exer. 13 (A-H): Service & Rel. Organizations	A-H 80-85, Exer. 14	Exer. 14 (A-H): Foreign Policy Position Paper	Exer. 14 (A-H)	Exer. 15 (A-H): Participation in Int'l Org.
In class:	Exer. 11 (A-H)	Guest Speaker: Church	Exer. 12,13 (A-H)	UN slide show V	
Feb. 28 Outside class:	Exer. 15 (A-H)	Exer. 15 (A-H)	Exer. 16 (A-H): Alternative Int'l Routes	Exer. 16 (A-H)	Falk
In class:	UN slide show VI	UN slide show VII	Exer. 14 (A-H)	Exer. 15 (A-H)	
March 7 Outside class:	B-H 270-340	B-H 341-377	Exer. 16 (A-H)	Exer. 16 (A-H)	Exer. 16 (A-H)
In class:	Exer. 16 (A-H)	Falk	B-H 270-340	B-H 341-377	Exer. 16 (A-H)

PERCEIVING AND EVALUATING YOUR ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL ROUTES FOR INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Suggestions to Teachers

1. The teacher may find it useful to read "A World of Cities: Food Foreign Policies Begin at Home" in order to acquire useful background on the Columbus in the World Project out of which this volume emerged. This can be obtained free by writing to Chadwick Alger, Mershon Center, 199 W. 10th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

2. Students can acquire vivid visual reinforcement of the perspective in this volume through viewing a filmstrip: "Foreign Policy in Local Communities: Columbus in the World." This filmstrip provides an overview of the international links of local communities and raises questions about these linkages with respect to peace, development and food as international issues. This filmstrip would be most useful during the first week of the course. While the concrete information in the filmstrip is about Columbus, it provides a vivid base of experience for discussion of the international links in any community. The filmstrip, along with cassette soundtrack, a copy of the script and a discussion guide, can be purchased for $15 from the Mershon Center, Ohio State University.

3. Exercise Eighteen: Putting It All Together: Alternative Routes to International Participation is in effect a final examination on the volume. Each student is asked to select a problem and delineate the various routes to involvement. If this exercise is to be successful the teacher will have to introduce lecture and reading material on global problems. After students have an overview of global problems they should be advised that they will have to choose a specific problem for Exercise Eighteen and should be preparing to make this choice. Students may wish to choose the same problem when they write the foreign policy position paper (Exercise Sixteen).

4. The teacher will have to exercise special care to insure that students grasp the usage of the term foreign policy in the volume. Many have used this term to apply only to the external policies of national governments. The dictionary definition (Webster's New Collegiate) of "policy" is quite adequate and students might be directed to it: "A definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions." Foreign policy is, then, simply policies of any individual, group or organization with respect to linkages with people outside the actor's own country.

When students interact with people in the community they will encounter some difficulty with this usage. For example, people will say: "We don't have anything to do with foreign policy because we stay out of politics." Through class discussion, students can be enabled to handle this problem. In the view of the authors, the achievement of this teaching objective is of fundamental importance if the participatory goals of the volume are to be achieved. Furthermore, there is no empirical basis for arguing that the term "foreign policy" should be limited to national governments.

5. It is recommended that students put the volume in a loose-leaf notebook so that they can easily take out pages that are to be turned in and return them to the notebook when they are handed back.

6. Students will obtain the most benefit from the exercises if each is handed in on a specific date and quickly returned with feedback, comments (and possibly a grade) from the teacher. Students should be asked to complete or do over exercises that are poorly done since they may not be able to do subsequent exercises if they do not have proficiency in earlier ones.

7. In discussion on Exercise Three (patriotism/humatriotism) the teacher will soon become aware that there are complexities that this rather simplistic dichotomy does not confront. For example, it is assumed in the questions that patriotism is synonymous with loyalty to a nation state. What of loyalty to a subnational unit? How about people who might have no loyalties to large human aggregates? Also, one might have humatriotic sentiments but yet disagree with proposals for world government, disarmament and a world court. Discussion should help students to confront these complexities.

8. Special care should be taken to insure that all students can verbalize their personal values in Exercise One, Part II E. If they do not begin doing this here they will have considerable difficulty with Exercise Fifteen, Clarifying Your Personal Values. The authors have a preference for "teasing" values out of students by encouraging them to reflect on their own decisions in life and in their evaluations in exercises in this volume. Some teachers may wish to use a different approach.

9. In exercises that require community contact and interviews the teacher should ask students to sign up on a list to insure that no more than one student contacts a single individual. This will ensure a variety of contacts and enrich class discussion. In addition, community contacts will continue to be helpful if they are not involved more than once each term. While it is a good idea to permit students to seek out their own contacts, the teacher might also work to circulate a list of possible contacts. Things go much

more smoothly if full information is given, including phone numbers. The teacher should send a note ahead indicating the context and purpose of the student's visit. A form like the attached can be used in order to keep paperwork to the minimum.

10. Exercise Ten: Multinational Corporation Annual Report Questionnaire. Many libraries have annual reports of multinational corporations on file. While the teacher should ensure that significant local headquarters and branches are included in class work, it may not be possible to get much printed information on smaller local companies.

11. Exercise Fourteen: Newspaper Clipping on International Links of Local People. Teachers may find that perceptual blinders make it difficult for students to find a clipping. Also, items may be buried in unfamiliar places. Nevertheless, the teacher should persist in requiring the fulfillment of this exercise. There is much more to be found than one sees at first glance.

12. Exercise Seventeen: Participation in International Organizations. It is important that you review this exercise quickly to ensure that all know how to use the Yearbook of International Organizations before attempting to do Exercise Eighteen.

13. It will be necessary for you to suggest resources for information on state and local organizations that can be used in Exercise Eighteen. This can be done in a handout that provides full bibliographic citations as well as information on exactly where the item is to be found, including library call numbers. Sometimes public libraries have information on state and local organizations not found in university (college) libraries. Students should be encouraged to use the telephone and other personal contacts in working on this exercise.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE
Pyschology and Social Relations 1360

Herbert C. Kelman
Spring, 1976

Department of
Psychology & Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA

BOOKS AND OTHER READING SOURCES

Readings for this course are taken from a wide variety of sources. Most of the selections can be found in one of the following books, which are listed in the order of their frequency of use. The first two books on the list are used quite heavily, the rest only occasionally.

Proshansky, H., and Seidenberg, B., eds., Basic Studies in Social Psychology. N.Y.: Holt, 1965.
Hollander, E. P., and Hunt, R. G., eds., Current Perspectives in Social Psychology (Third edition). N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1971. (Paperback)
Steiner, I. D., and Fishbein, M., eds., Current Studies in Social Psychology. N.Y.: Holt, 1965.
Bennis, W. G., Benne, K. D., and Chin, R., eds., The Planning of Change (Second edition). N.Y.: Holt, 1969.
Brickman, P., ed., Social Conflict. Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1974. (Paperback)
Hollander, E. P., and Hunt, R. G., eds., Classical Contributions to Social Psychology. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1972. (Paperback)
Flacks, R., ed., Conformity, Resistance and Self-Determination: The Individual and Authority. Boston: Little, Brown, 1973. (Paperback)
Hornstein, H. A., et al., eds., Social Intervention: A Behavioral Science Approach. N.Y.: Free Press, 1971.
Etzioni, A., ed., A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations (Second edition). N.Y.: Holt, 1969.

In the reading list, the above books will be referred to simply by the names of the editors (except for Hollander & Hunt, who have two collections; here the year of publication will be added to distinguish between the 1971 and the 1972 volumes).

We have attempted to keep the references to journals at a minimum, but sometimes this was not possible. Some articles are reprinted in the Bobbs-Merrill of the Scientific American Reprint Series, or in Warner Modular Publications.

SCHEDULE AND READING LIST

Feb. 11 *Introduction: The Relationship Between Individual and Social Change*

Feb. 18 *The Nature of Attitudes and Determinants of Attitude Stability and Change*

Katz, D., "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitude Change," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 332-342. (The full original article is available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. P-486. Also reprinted in M. Fishbein, ed., *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*. N.Y.: Wiley, 1967, pp. 457-468.)

Janis, I. L., and Smith, M. S., "Effects of Education and Persuasion on National and International Images," in H. C. Kelman, ed., *International Behavior*, N.Y.: Holt, 1965, pp. 190-219. (You may wish to skim the rest of the chapter.)

Sarnoff, I., Katz, D., and McClintock, C., "Attitude-Change Procedures and Motivating Patterns," in Proshansky & Seidneberg, pp. 121-129.

Rosenberg, M. J., "Cognitive Structure and Attitudinal Affect," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 149-156.

Pettibrew, T. F., "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: A Cross-National Comparison," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2, 1958, pp. 29-42. (Available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. S-477.)

Jones, E. E., and Aneshansel, J., "The Learning and Utilization of Contravaluant Material," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 39-47.

Kelley, H. H., "The Warm-Cold Variable in First Impressions of Personality," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 65-71.

Rosenthal, R., and Jacobson, L. F., "Teacher Expectations for the Disadvantaged.", *Scientific American*, April 1968, pp. 19-23. (Available as Scientific American Offprint No. 514.)

Bauer, R. A., "The Obstinate Audience: The Influence Process From the Point of View of Social Communication," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 397-405.

Feb. 25 *Reference Groups and the Individual's Need for Social Support*

Kelley, H. H., "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 210-214.

Newcomb, T., "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 215-225.

Newcomb, T., "Persistence and Regression of Changed Attitudes: Long-range Studies," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 381-389.

Sherif, M., "Formation of Social Norms: The Experimental Paradigm," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 461-471. (As an alternative, you may read the selection by Sherif in Hollander & Hunt, 1972, pp. 320-329.)

Asch, S. E., "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 393-401. (As an alternative, you may read the selection by Asch in Hollander & Hunt, 1972, pp. 330-339; or in Flacks, pp. 39-49.)

Deutsch, M., and Gerard, H. B., "A Study of Normative and Informational Social Influences Upon Individual Judgment," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 402-411.

Hollander, E. P., "Competence and Conformity in the Acceptance of Influence," in Steiner & Fishbein, pp. 287-294.

Pelz, E. B., "Some Factors in 'Group Decision,'" in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 437-444.

Festinger, L., "Informal Social Communication," in Hollander & Hunt, 1972, pp. 340-351. (Also available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. S-82.)

Janis, I. L., "Groupthink Among Policy Makers," in N. Sanford, C. Comstock, *et al.*, *Sanctions for Evil*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971, pp. 71-89.

Optional further readings:

Hyman, H. H., and Singer, E., "An Introduction to Reference Group Theory and Research," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 67-77.

Schein, E., "Reaction Patterns to Severe, Chronic Stress in American Army Prisoners of War of the Chinese," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 638-645.

Kelman, H. C., *A Time to Speak: On Human Values and Social Research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968, Chapter 10 ("Political Dissent in a Crisis Atmosphere"), pp. 261-293.

Campbell, E., and Pettigrew, T., "Racial and Moral Crisis: The Role of the Little Rock Ministers," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1959, 64, pp. 509-516.

Coch, L., and French, J. R. P., Jr., "Overcoming Resistance to Change," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 444-460. (Also available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. S-45.)

Mar. 3 The Individual's Relationship to Legitimate Authority - Obedience and Defiance

Sternberger, D., "Legitimacy," in D. L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1968, vol. 9, pp. 244-248.

Weber, M., "The Three Types of Legitimate Rule," in Etzioni, pp. 6-15.

Raven, B. H., and French, J. R. P., Jr., "Legitimate Power, Coercive Power, and Observability in Social Influence," *Sociometry*, 1958, 21, pp. 83-97. (Reprinted in C. W. Backman and P. F. Secord, eds., *Problems in Social Psycology*. N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1966, pp. 202-210.

Milgram, S., "Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority," in Steiner & Fishbein, pp. 243-262; or in Brickman, pp. 281-297. (Also available as Warner Modular Publication No. R-655.)

Orne, M. T., and Evans, F. J., "Social Control in the Psychologocial Experiment: Anti-Social Behavior and Hypnosis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1965, 1, pp. 189-200.

Kelman, H. C., and Lawrence, L. H., "Assignement of Responsibility in the Case of Lt. Calley: Preliminary Report on a National Survey," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1972, 28 (1), pp. 177-212. (Available as Warner Modular Publication No. R-710.) (Reprints on reserve.)

Opton, E. M., Jr., "It Never Happened and Besides They Deserved It," in N. Sanford, C. Comstock, *et al.*, *Sanctions For Evil*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971, pp. 49-70.

Optional further readings:

Allport, G. W., *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Chapter 29 ("Ought There Be a Law?"), pp. 461-477. (Also available in paperback: Doubleday, 1958.)

Kelman, H. C., "Violence Without Moral Restraint: Reflections on the Dehumanization of Victims and Victimizers," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1973, 29 (4), pp. 25-61. (Reprints on reserve.)

Smith, M. B., *Social Psychology and Human Values*. Chicago: Aldine, 1969, Chapter 28 ("Some Thoughts on the Legitimation of Evil"), pp. 386-401.

Lifton, R. J., "Existential Evil," in N. Sanford, C. Comstock, et al., Sanctions For Evil. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971, pp. 37-48.

Ball-Rokeach, S. J., "The Legitimation of Violence," in J. F. Short, and M. E. Wolfgang, eds., Collective Violence. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972, pp. 100-111.

Milgram, S., Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1974.

Mar. 10 Inconsistency as Challenge to Existing Attitudes; Discrepant Action and Attitude Change

Zajonc, R. B., "The Concepts of Balance, Congruity, and Dissonance," in Steiner & Fishbein, pp. 27-41.

Osgood, C. E., "Cognitive Dynamics in the Conduct of Human Affairs," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 343-354 (you may wish to skim the rest).

Aronson, E., "Dissonance Theory: Progress and Problems,: in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 359-371.

Kelman, H. C., and Baron, R. M., "Inconsistency as a Psychological Signal" (Chapter 22), and "Determinants of Modes of Resolving Inconsistency Dilemmas: A Functional Analysis" (Chapter 66), in R. P. Abelson, et al., eds., Theories of Cognitive Consistency: A Sourcebook. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968, pp. 331-336 and 670-683. (Reprints on reserve.)

Leiberman, S., "The Effects of Changes in Roles on the Attitudes of Role Occupants," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 485-494.

Deutsch, M., and Collins, M. E., "The Effect of Public Policy in Housing Projects Upon Interracial Attitudes," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 646-657.

Kelman, H. C., "Attitudes are Alive and Well and Gainfully Employed in the Sphere of Action," American Psychologist, 1974, 29, pp. 310-324. (Reprints on reserve.)

Optional further readings:

Festinger, L., "An Introduction to the Theory of Dissonance," in Hollander & Hunt, 1972, pp. 209-219.

Rosenberg, M. J., Verba, S., and Converse, P. E., Vietnam and the Silent Majority. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1970 (paperback), Chapter 4 ("Changing Attitudes on the War: Some Practical Theory"), pp. 80-116.

Amir, Y., "Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations," Psychological Bulletin, 1969, 71, pp. 319-342.

Coles, R., Children of Crisis. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967, pp. 239-259, 275-288.

Wicker, A. W., "Attitudes Versus Actions: The Relationship of Verbal and Overt Behavioral Responses to Attitude Objects," Journal of Social Issues, 1969, 25 (4), pp. 41-78. (Available as Warner Modular Publication No. R-240.) (Note: Read especially pp. 41-47, and pp. 66-75.)

Mar. 17 Processes of Social Influence

Kelman, H. C., "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 140-148.

Kelman, H. C., "Social Influence and Linkages Between the Individual and the Social System: Further Thoughts on the Processes of Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," in J. Tedeschi, ed., Perspectives on Social Power. Chicago: Aldine, 1974, pp. 125-171. (Reprints on reserve.)

Raven, B. H., "Social Influence and Power," in Steiner & Fishbein, pp. 371-382.

Schein, E. H., "The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War," Psychiatry, 1956, 19, pp. 149-172. (Available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. P-304.)

Hovland, C. I., and Weiss, W., "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 175-185.

Aronson, E., Turner, J. A., and Carlsmith, M. J., "Communicator Credibility and Communication Discrepancy as Determinants of Opinion Change," in Steiner & Fishbein, pp. 145-153.

Optional further readings:

Kelman, H. C., "Three Processes of Social Influence," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 421-429. (The full original article is available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. P-191.)

Kelman, H. C., "The Role of the Group in the Induction of Therapeutic Change," International Journal of Group Psychotherapy, 1963, 13, pp. 399-432. (Reprints on reserve.)

Goffman, E., "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," in E. Goffman, *Asylums*. Chicago: Aldine, 1961, pp. 3-12 and skim the rest of the essay. (Abstracted in Etzioni, pp. 312-338.)

Janis, I. L., and Feshbach, S., "Effects of Fear-Arousing Communications," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 157-174.

Mar. 24 *Induction of Societal Standards of Responsibility and Propriety -- Guilt, Shame, and Other Reactions to Violation of Such Standards*

Goffman, E., "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 311-321.

Goffman, E., "Embarrassment and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, 56, pp. 264-271.

Modigliani, "A Embarrassment, Facework, and Eye Contact: Testing a Theory of Embarrassment," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1971, 17, pp. 15-24. (Available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. P-740.)

Aronfreed, J., *Conduct and Conscience*. N.Y.: Academic Press, 1968, Chapters 8 ("Reactions to Transgression"), and 9 ("Fear, Guilt, and Shame"), pp. 211-254.

Kohlberg, L., "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in D. A. Goslin, ed., ed., *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969, pp. 369-404.

Latane, B., and Darley, J. M., "Bystander 'Apathy,'" in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 473-485.

Apr. 7 *Socialization as Reciprocal Influence -- The Fit Between the Individual and the Social System*

Inkeles, A., "Society, Social Structure, and Child Socialization," in J. Clausen, ed., *Socialization and Society*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968, pp. 73-124.

Bronfenbrenner, U., "The Changing American Child," in Hollander & Hunt, 1972, pp. 115-123.

Douvan, E., "Social Status and Success Strivings," in Proshansky & Seidenberg, pp. 58-64.

Brim, O. G., Jr., "Socialization in Later Life," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 114-125.

Becker, H. S., "Personal Change in Adult Life," in Bennis, Benne, & Chin, pp. 255-267.

Hunt, R. G., "Role and Role Conflict," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 279-285.

Optional further readings:

Inkeles, A., Hanfmann, E., and Beier, H., "Modal Personality and Adjustment to the Soviet Socio-Political System," Human Relations, 1958, 11, pp. 3-22. (Reprinted in Y. Cohen, ed., Social Structure and Personality. N.Y.: Holt, 1961, pp. 117-135. Also in E. E. Sampson, ed., Approaches, Contexts, and Problems of Social Psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964, pp. 484-499.)

Tapp, J.L., and Kohlberg, L., "Developing Senses of Law and Legal Justice," Journal of Social Issues, 1971, 27 (2), pp. 65-91.

Katz, D., and Kahn, R. L., The Social Psychology of Organizations. N.Y.: Wiley, 1966, Chapter 7 ("The Taking of Organizational Roles"), pp. 171-198.

Note: A take-home exam will be distributed at this session.

Apr. 14 There will be no session this evening. However, the Take-Home Exam is Due This Afternoon. Exact time and place for delivery of your papers will be announced.

Apr. 21 Sources of Commitment to a Social System and of Its Perceived Legitimacy

Katz, D., "The Motivational Basis of Organizational Behavior," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 570-587.

Kanter, R., "Commitment and Social Organization," American Sociological Review, 1968, 33, pp. 499-517.

Gamson, W. A., "The Management of Discontent," in Brickman, pp. 354-370; or in Flacks, pp. 252-266.

Kelman, H. C., "Patterns of Personal Involvement in the National System: A Social-Psychological Analysis of Political Legitimacy," in J. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory (Revised Edition). N.Y.: Free Press,1969, pp. 276-288. (Reprints on reserve.)

Lipset, S. M., Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City, N.J.: Doubelday, 1960, Chapter 3 ("Social Conflict, Legitimacy and Democracy"), pp. 64-70. Skim rest of chapter.

Etzioni, A., "A Basis for Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations," in Etzioni, pp. 59-76.

Optional further readings:

Durkheim, E., *The Division of Labor in Society*. N.Y.: Free Press, 1966 (paperback edition), Chapters 2 ("Mechanical Solidarity Through Likeness"), and 3 ("Organic Solidarity Due to the Division of Labor"), pp. 70-132.

Apr. 28 Sources of Social Protest and the Redefinition of Legitimacy; The Role of Social Comparison Processes

Flacks, R., "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest," in Flacks, pp. 104-119. (Also available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. S-690.)

Paige, J.M., "Political Orientation and Riot Participation," in Brickman, pp. 494-505.

Caplan, N., "The New Ghetto Man: A Review of Recent Empirical Studies," in Flacks, pp. 207-216. (Also available as Warner Modular Publication No. R-168.)

Pettigrew, T. F., *Racially Separate or Together?* N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1971, Chapter 7 ("Why Black Unrest in the 1960's?"), pp. 147-164.

Kelman, H. C., "A Social-Psychological Model of Political Legitimacy and Its Relevance to Black and White Student Protest Movements," *Psychiatry*, 1970, 33, pp. 224-246. (Reprints on reserve.)

Turner, R. H., "The Public Perception of Protest," in Hollander & Hunt, 1971, pp. 646-657.

Merton, R., "Social Structure and Anomie," in L. Coser and B. Rosenberg, eds., *Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings* (3rd ed.), N.Y.: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 533-542. (Also available as Bobbs-Merrill Reprint No. S-194. A revised and expanded version of this classic paper can be found in R. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*. N.Y.: Free Press, 1957, pp. 131-160.)

Optional further readings:

Flacks, R., "Protest or Conform: Some Social Psychological Perspectives on Legitimacy," in H. Gadlin, and B. E. Garskof, eds., *The Uptight Society: A Book of Readings*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1970, pp. 304-315.

Kelman, H. C., "The Challenge of Change," in J. L. Scheiber, ed., America and the Future of Man: A Reader for the First Course by Newspaper, CRM Books, 1973, pp. 156-161.

Feuer, L., The Conflict of Generations. N.Y.: Basic Books, Inc., 1969, Preface (pp. VVI-IX), Chapter 1 (pp. 3-53).

Lipset, S. M., ed., Student Politics. N.Y.: Basic Books, Inc., 1967, Chapter 7 (pp. 199-253).

Keniston, K., Young Radicals. N.Y.: Harcourt, 1968, Appendices B and C, pp. 297-342.

Pettigrew, T. F., "Social Evaluation Theory: Convergences and Applications," in D. Levine, ed., Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1967. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967, esp. pp. 251-279.

Killian, L. M., The Impossible Revolution. N.Y.: Random House, 1968, Chapter 6 ("The Strategy of Protest"), pp. 65-91.

Sears, D. O., and McConahay, J. B., "Racial Socialization, Comparison Levels, and the Watts Riot," Journal of Social Issues, 1970, 26 (1), pp. 121-140.

Morrison, D. E., "Some Notes Toward Theory on Relative Deprivation, Social Movements and Social Change," in G. Zaltman, ed., Processes and Phenomena of Social Change, N.Y.: Wiley, 1973, pp. 153-164.

May 5 Deprivation-Frustration and Political Bargaining Theories of Revolution

Davies, J. C., "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, 1962, 27, pp. 5-19. (Reprinted in B. McLaughlin, ed., Studies in Social Movements. N.Y.: Free Press, 1969, pp. 85-108.)

Gurr, T. R., "A Comparative Study of Civil Strife," in Brickman, pp. 466-481.

Tilly, C., "Does Modernization Breed Revolution?" Comparative Politics, April 1973, 5, pp. 425-447.

Portes, A., "On the Logic of Post-Factum Explanations: The Hypothesis of Lower-Class Frustration as the Cause of Leftist Radicalism," in Brickman, pp. 398-418.

Korpi, W., "Working Class Communism in Western Europe: Rational or Nonrational," American Sociological Review, 1971, 36, pp. 971-984.

Gamson, W. A., Power and Discontent. Homewood, Ill,: Dorsey, 1968, Chapter 3 ("Discontent and Trust"), pp. 39-58 (read esp. pp. 39-52).

Optional further readings:

Brinton, C., *The Anatomy of Revolution*. N.Y.: Vintage, 1957, Chapter 9 ("A Summary of the Work of Revolutions"), pp. 251-279.

Gurr, T. R., *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970, Chapter 2 ("Relative Deprivation and the Impetus To Violence"), pp. 22-58.

Portes, A., "Political Primitivism, Differential Socialization, and Lower-Class Leftist Radicalism," *American Sociological Review*, 1971, 36, pp. 820-835.

Gamson, W. A., *Power and Discontent*. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1968, Chapter 1 ("Two Perspectives on Power and Discontent"), pp. 1-21.

May 12 *Nonviolent Action and Problem Solving as Strategies of Intervention in Intergroup Conflict*

Introduction to Part Six ("Nonviolence and Direct Action as Strategies of Social Intervention"), in Hornstein, *et al.*, pp. 533-545.

Sharp, G., "Mechanisms of Change in Nonviolent Action," in Hornstein, *et al.*, pp. 546-557.

Deutsch, M., "Conflicts: Productive and Destructive," in Hornstein, *et al.*, pp. 566-576.

Walton, R. E., "Two Strategies of Social Change and Their Dilemmas," in Bennis, Benne, & Chin, pp. 167-176.

Blake, R. R., Mouton, J. S., and Sloma, R. L., "The Union-Management Intergroup Laboratory: Strategy for Resolving Intergroup Conflict," in Bennis, Benne, & Chin, pp. 176-191.

Kelman, H. C., "The Problem-Solving Workshop in Conflict Resolution," in R. L. Merritt, ed., *Communication in International Politics*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972, pp. 168-204. (Reprints on reserve.)

Optional further readings:

Sharp, G., *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973, Chapter 2 ("Nonviolent Action: An Active Technique of Struggle"), pp. 63-101.

Kelman, H. C., *A Time To Speak: On Human Values and Social Research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968, Chapter 9 ("The Relevance of Nonviolent Action"), pp. 229-260.

Pelton, L. H., *The Psychology of Nonviolence*. N.Y.: Pergamon, 1974.

May 19 Ethical and Value Issues in Intervention for Social Change

Guskin, A. E., and Chesler, M. A., "Partisan-Diagnosis of Social Problems," in G. Zaltman, ed., Processes and Phenomena of Social Change, N.Y.: Wiley, 1973, pp. 353-376.
Warwick, D. P., and Kelman, H. C., "Ethical Issues in Social Intervention," in Zaltman, ed., Processes and Phenomena of Social Change, pp. 377-417. (Reprints on reserve.)
Horowitz, I. L., "The Life and Death of Project Camelot," in I. L. Horowitz, Professing Sociology, Chicago: Aldine, 1968, pp. 287-304. (Original in Trans-Action, 1965, 3 (1), pp. 3-7, 44-47.)
Gouldner, A. W., "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology," in Bennis, Benne, & Chin, pp. 604-618.

Optional further readings:

Benne, K. D., "Some Ethical Problems in Group and Organizational Consultation," in Bennis, Benne, & Chin, pp. 595-604.
Horowtiz, I. L., Professing Sociology. Chicago: Aldine, 1968, Chapter 3 ("Social Science Objectivity and Value Neutrality"), pp. 30-45.

PAPERS

Each student is expected to write a paper, which constitutes your major assignment for the second half of the semester. The paper may take one of a number of forms, for example:

(1) an analysis of some aspect of a contemporary social problem or social movement in terms of some of the concepts, findings, and issues considered in this course;

(2) a critical review of a book that is not primarily social-psychological in nature (fiction or non-fiction), using some of the concepts and findings considered in this course to evaluate and elaborate on the book's theme;

(3) an interpretation, critique, or elaboration of some of the studies read or discussed in the course;

(4) a new conceptualization of one of the problems discussed in the course;

(5) an analysis of a real-life situation in which major individual and/or social changes occur (such as childhood or adult socialization, assimilation of immigrants, psychotherapy, religious or political conversion, political development, social intervention programs, conflict resolution efforts, etc.).

Papers varying widely in topic and form are acceptable, as long as they draw and build on the materials considered in the course. The paper should be around 12-15 pages in length.

POLITICS AND NONVIOLENCE
Government 9 (Freshman Seminar)

Donald W. McNemar
Spring, 1971

Department of Government
Dartmouth College
Hanover, NH

Purpose of the Seminar

This seminar is a research project focused on the conditions under which nonviolence can be an effective means of achieving political goals.

Course Format

The course will be conducted as a joint research effort. Participants will undertake individual research into various aspects of the problem posed and the seminar meetings will be devoted to discussion of this work and its results. At the conclusion of the project a joint paper will be prepared summarizing the results of this research.

Requirements

The writing in the seminar will consist of four papers. These will include: an analysis of Gandhi's techniques and their effectiveness; an essay on how an individual can practice nonviolence today; a case study of the use of nonviolence; and a contribution on one aspect of the seminar report.

Readings for the Course

While much of the work will be research in the College library, the following books will be discussed in the seminar sessions and are to be purchased at the bookstore:

Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence. N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1966.
Gene Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970.
Louis Fischer, Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World.
Gandhi, Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha). N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1963.
Joan V. Bondurant, Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
Erik H. Erikson, Gandhi's Truth. N.Y.: W.W. Norton, 1969.

Martin Luther King, Stride Toward Freedom. N.Y.: Ballantine, 1961.

Gene Sharp, "The Political Equivalent of War -- Civilian Defense," International Conciliation, Whole Number, no. 555, N.Y.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November 1965.

Adam Roberts, Civilian Resistance as a National Defense: Non-Violent Action Against Aggression. Baltimore: Penguin, 1968.

Dave Dellinger, Revolutionary Nonviolence. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971.

COURSE OUTLINE

I. The Study of Nonviolence

1. The Nature of Nonviolence — April 5
   Gregg, The Power of Nonviolence

2. Research Design for the Seminar — April 8
   Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives

II. Gandhi: A Practitioner of Nonviolence

1. The Man and His Works — April 12
   Fischer, Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World
   Gandhi, Non-Violent Resistance

2. Gandhi's Technique — April 15
   Bondurant, Conquest of Violence

3. The Personality for Nonviolence — April 19
   Erikson, Gandhi's Truth

4. "What factors permitted Gandhi's use of nonviolence to be effective in achieving his goals?" — April 22
   (Students are to prepare a 4 to 6 page paper on this topic.)

III. Contemporary Uses of Nonviolence

1. Martin Luther King and Nonviolence — April 26
   King, Stride Toward Freedom

2. Nonviolence as a National Defense — April 29
   Sharp, The Political Equivalent of War -- Civilian Defense
   Roberts, Civilian Resistance as a National Defense

3. Violence or Nonviolence for Today? Dellinger, Revolutionary Nonviolence — May 3

3. Violence or Nonviolence for Today? Dellinger, Revolutionary Nonviolence	May 3
4. "How can an individual practice nonviolence in modern society?" (Students are to prepare a 4 to 6 page paper on this topic.)	May 6

IV. Case Studies of the Use of Nonviolence

1. Design of Framework for Analysis and Selection of Cases	May 10
2. Reports on Case Studies (Each student is to prepare an 8 to 12 page study on the case he is investigating.)	May 13 and 17

V. Effectiveness of Nonviolence as a Political Instrument

1. Research Design for Seminar Report (Each participant will research and draft one section of the final seminar report.)	May 20
2. The Nature of Nonviolence	May 24
3. Relation of the Means to Political Goals	May 27
4. Conditions for Effectiveness of Nonviolence	May 31
5. Presentation of the Seminar Report	June 3

SOCIAL CHANGE
(first-year course)

Tom Stonier
& Staff

School of
Science and Society
University of Bradford
Bradford, England

The aim of this course is to develop students' abilities to identify problems central to the Social Sciences and to select and use models, concepts and theories developed within the various social sciences which seem to be useful in clarifying some of the problems. The ultimate objective will be decisions. To achieve this objective, students will be encouraged to develop their critical capacity and will be presented with different models and different problems. The particular problems selected for study are as follows:

a) The Rise of Urban Industrial Society. This will study pre-industrial society, the industrial revolution and various interpretations of industrialism in order to explain that societies change in very fundamental ways and that the interpretations of the changes are controversial.
b) Interpretations of Social Transformations. This will deal with theories of evolutionary development, Marxism and techniques of social control which have been developed to contain social change.
c) The Urban Complex. From a case study of a particular industrial town, attention will then be focused on problems of urban decay, the urban model in the Third World, alienation in urban society, etc.
d) Technology and Social Change. This will deal with the role of technology from agrarian society to post-industrial society and introduce such concepts as technological determinism, information explosion, etc.
e) Ideology, Culture and Social Change. Starting with Liberal ideology and the industrial revolution, this will study various socialist movements, fascism, corporatism and current social democracy in Sweden.
f) The Western World, The Third World and Development. This will deal with various theories of imperialism, Western theories of development and planning, and technology in the Third World.

The course presentation will involve about 22 lectures/seminar sessions of about 2-hours length and the attendance of each student for a one-hour tutorial session every week.

Assessment. There will be four essay assignments during the session. Each essay assignment carries equal weighting.

Reading Assignment

Students are expected to read widely in the course of preparing their essays and should, after consultation with their tutor, choose a selection from this list, all of which should be available in the library (Wardley House or J.B. Priestley).

Ackroyd, Margolies, Rosenhead and Shallice	The Technology of Political Control
Agarwala and Singh (eds.)	The Economics of Underdevelopment (OUP)
V.L. Allen	Social Analysis (Longman)
E.R. Baldwin and G.M. Meier	Economic Development (Wiley & Son)
T. Balock	The Economics of Poverty (Condor & Weidenfeld & Nicolson)
P.A. Baran	The Political Economy of Growth (Pelican)
Daniel Bell	The Coming of Post-Industrial Society
H. Berstein	Underdevelopment & Development Part III (Penguin)
J. Bhagwati	The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson)
H. Braverman	Labour and Monopoly Capital Part II
M. Barrat Brown	The Economics of Imperialism (Penguin)
A. Crorz (ed.)	The Division of Labour Part II
R. Dahrendorf	Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (RKP)
G. Dalton	The Economic Systems and Society (Penguin)
P. Deane	The First Industrial Revolution
M. Djilas	The New Class (Thames & Hudson)
P. Doaner	Land Reform and Economic Development
E. Eckstein	China's Economic Revolution (Cambridge University Press)
A.G. Frank	Genocide in Chile
J.K. Galbraith	Economic Development
S. George	How the Other Half Dies (Penguin)
M.D. Hancock	Sweden: The Politics of Post-Industrial Change (Open University)
T. Hayter	Aid as Imperialism (Penguin)
C.R. Hensman	Rich Against Poor (Pelican)
G.K. Ingham	Strikes and Industrial Conflict (Mcmillan)
P. Laslett	The World that We Have Lost
W.A. Lewis	Development Planning (Allen & Unwin)

C.B. MacPherson	The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism
Marx and Engels	Manifesto of the Communist Party (Progress)
G.M. Meier	Problems of Co-operation for Development (Oxford University Press)
E.J. Mishan	The Cost of Economic Growth
H. Myint	The Economics of the Developing Countries (Hutchinson)
G. Myrdal	Asian Drama (Penguin)
G. Myrdal	The Challenge of World Poverty (Pelican)
H. Radice (ed.)	International Firms & Modern Empiricalism (Penguin)
R. Rhodes (ed.)	Imperialism and Underdevelopment (Monthly Review Press)
C. Richardson	A Geography of Bradford
R. Roberts	The Classic Slum
J. Robinson	An Essay on Marxian Economy (Macmillan)
K. Samuelson	From Great Power to Welfare State (Allen & (Unwin)
E.F. Schumacher	Small is Beautiful
J. Seabrook	City Close Up
R.B. Sutcliffe	Industry and Underdevelopment (Addison-Wesley)
A.J.P. Taylor	Standards of Living in the Industrial Revolution
A.P. Thirwall	Growth & Development (Chaucer Press)
E.P. Thompson	The Making of the English Working Class (chs. 6-10)
M.P. Torado	Economics for a Developing World (Longman)
Alain Touraine	The Post-Industrial Society (London, Wildwood House)
B. Turner	Industrialism (Longman)

Associated Practical

World Trading Exercise and Report. This exercise is carried out over two sessions (one whole day) and consists of students in groups operating the management and trading strategy of a selected number of the major countries of the world. The simulation is required to be carried out for the equivalent of eight years. Each student is required to present a report outlining the strategies which their country adopted and how successful they were, suggested better strategies, and how the exercise might relate to the real world situation.

RADICAL & REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Nigel Young
Spring, 1975

School of Peace Studies
University of Bradford
Bradford, England

COURSE DESCRIPTION

A comparative political and structural analysis of movements for fundamental social change--both as responses to, and vehicles of, actual social transformation. Case studies of peasant, working class, anti-war, anarchist, national liberation movements, etc., followed by special focus on the recent movements of the New Left, their crisis and decline. The role of ideology, violence, non-violence in strategies of contemporary social protest and change, including the 1960's Peace and Civil Rights movements, and those of students, blacks, women, etc., with an evaluation of their significance and impact on western societies.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

General Overview and Analysis of Political and Social Movements for Change: A Comparative/Historical Approach

Z. Barbu	Democracy and Dictatorship (especially Introduction, Chs. 5-8, Part I; Ch. 5, Part II).
Peter Berger	The Social Construction of Reality.
H. Blumer	"Collective Behavior," in Principles of Sociology, McClung Lee, Part 4, pp. 167-224 (Barnes & Noble).
M. Buber	Paths in Utopia. (The myths and eschatologies of movements.)
H. Cantril	The Psychology of Social Movements. (Good, simple account of Nazi movement.)
E. Fromm	The Escape from Freedom. (The psychology of recruitment to Fascism.)
H. Gerth	"The Nazi Party--Its Composition." (This article in the Bobbs-Merril Reprint Series is an exemplary analysis of a movement's membership.)
R. Heberle	Social Movements (see especially Ch. 1).
R.D. Hopper	"The Revolutionary Process," in Social Forces, Vol. 28, 1950.
Frank Lindenfeld	Political Sociology: Collected Readings (see especially readings on political movements).

G. Rude	The Crowd in History.
N. Smelser	Theory of Collective Behavior. (Be warned: Parsonian functionalist approach--useful footnotes!)
F. Toch	The Social Psychology of Social Movements (see "ethnocentrism" section).
R. Turner & L. Kilian	Collective Behavior.
Brian Wilson	"An Analysis of Sect Development" (reprinted from *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Feb. 1959) in Lipset and Smelser, eds., *Sociology, Progress of a Decade*; and in the Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series.

Peasant and Pre-political Movements

Eric Hobsbawm	Primitive Rebels. (On populist legitimism.)
V. Lanternari	Religions of the Oppressed.
Sir J. Maynard	The Russian Peasant.
David Mitrany	Marx Against the Peasant.
George Rude	The Crowd in History.
Sylvia Thrupp	Millenial Dreams in Action.
Eric Wolf	Peasants and Revolutionary Change (Introduction and article).
A. Yarmolinski	Road to Revolution.

Millenialism, Political Religion, Revitalisation Movements: The Interpretation of Religion and Politics in Social Movements

David Apter	"Political Religion in the New Nations," in *Old Societies and New States* (Clifford Geertz, ed.), pp. 56-104.
Norman Cohn	The Pursuit of The Millenium (Introduction and Conclusion).
V. Lanternari	The Religions of the Oppressed.
Anthony Wallace	"Revitalisation Movements," in *American Anthropologist*, 1956, p. 264. Reprinted in *Sociology, Progress of a Decade*, Lipset and Smelser, eds., and in the Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series.
P. Worsley	The Trumpet Shall Sound.

The Working Class Movement in Britain

David Boulton	Objection Over-Ruled. (On war resistance, 1916-18.)
Ralf Dahrendorf	Class and Class Conflict (see especially pp. 157-210 and Chs. 5 and 6). (Summary of Marxian and post-Marxian theories of conflict.)
G. Dangerfield	The Strange Death of Liberal England (especially Ch. 4).

Walter Kendall	The Revolutionary Movement in Britain (1900-21) (especially 2-6-16).
M. Mann	Consciousness and Action Among the Western Working Class.
T.H. Marshall	Class, Citizenship and Social Development.
Ralph Miliband	Parliamentary Socialism.
Kenneth Newton	Sociology of British Communism.
E.P. Thompson	The Making of the English Working Class.
J. Westergaard	"The Myth of Classlessness," in Robin Blackburn, Ideology and Social Science.
J. Westergaard	"The Rediscovery of the Cash Nexus," in Socialist Register, 1970.
Raymond Williams	Culture and Society (see Introduction and final section).
N. Young	"The English Working Class and the Dialectic of Incorporation" (excerpt reprinted in Worsley, ed., Problems of Modern Society) Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 1967.

Syndicalism and Strike Movements

Sir Ernest Barker	Principles of Social and Political Theory (pp. 34-41). (French syndicalism.)
Paul Brissenden	The IWW
W.H. Crook	The General Strike. (A survey.)
Jerome Davis	Social Movements (see section on Syndicalism).
I.J. Horowitz	Radicalism and the Revolt Against Reason.
Joyce Kornbluh	Rebel Voices. (Documents)
W. Laidler	Social Economic Movements.
A.L. Mowatt	Britain Between the Wars. (Account of British 1926 general strike.)
Patrick Renshaw	The Wobblies.
R. Rocker	Anarcho-Syndicalism.
J.S. Shapiro, ed.	Movements of Social Dissent in Europe (see Pt. I, Chs. 6 and 7, and readings 27-33).
George Sorel	Reflections on Violence (especially Chs. 3, 4, and 5).

Mass Politics and Radical Movements

I.W. Adorno, *et al.*	The Authoritarian Personality (especially Introduction).
R.W. Brown	Social Psychology (chapter on Authoritarianism).
E. Brunswick	"The Anti-Democratic Personality," in E. Maccoby, Readings in Social Psychology.
H. Cantril	The Politics of Despair.
R. Christie & Jahoda	Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality.
E. Fromm	The Escape from Freedom (especially Chs. 5, 6, Part I).

J. Gusfield	"Mass Society and Extremist Politics," Am. Soc. Rev., 1962, p. 534. (Critique of Kornhauser.)
W. Kornhauser	Politics of the Mass Society. (The atomisation of mass society as basis for modern movements.)
S.M. Lipset	Political Man (Chs. 4 and 5).
F. Newmann	The Democratic and Authoritarian State (Chs. 9 and 11).
W. Reich	Listen Little Man.
W. Reich	Mass Psychology of Fascism.
E. Shils	Authoritarianism: Left, Right and Centre.
J. Schaar	The Escape from Authority. (Critique of Fromm.)

Anarchism and Pacifism as Social Movements

G. Brenan	Spanish Labyrinth (chapter on Anarchism).
P. Brock	Twentieth Century Pacifism.
D. Cohn-Bendit	Obsolete Communism.
C.D.H. Cole	A History of Socialist Thought (final volumes, especially Vol. 3, Pt. I).
Daniel Guerin	Anarchism.
Irving Horowitz	The Anarchists. (Readings)
J. Joll	The Anarchists.
R. Kedward	The Anarchists.
L. Krimmerman & Perry	Patterns of Anarchy. (Readings)
P. Mayer	Pacifist Conscience.
W.R. Miller	Non-Violence. (A Christian interpretation.)
V. Richards, ed.	Malatesta: Life and Ideas.
Gene Sharp	Exploring Non-Violent Alternatives.
Gene Sharp	Non-Violent Action.
G. Woodcock	Anarchism.

Parliamentarism and Reform

Change within established political and social structures--the nature of liberalism and social democracy--the democratic rituals, electoralism and representative parties. The national framework of politics, the exigencies of popular support. Elections in a context of established power. Oligarchy and co-optation--the incorporation of oppositional movements. Pressure groups and pluralist approaches to politics. The inter-relationship of bureaucratic structures.

Peter Baleu	Bureaucracy.
Ken Coates	"Socialists and the Labour Party," in Socialist Register, 1973.
R.H. Crossman	"Introduction" to W. Bagehot's English Constitution (Fontana edition).

Amitai Etzioni	Complex Organisations. (Collected readings)
Alvin Gouldner	"Metaphysical Pathos and the Theory of Bureaucracy," in Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., 1955.
Barry Hindess	The Decline of Working Class Politics.
R.K. Merton	Reader in Bureaucracy.
R. Michels	Political Parties.
R. Miliband	Parliamentary Socialism.
Pantich	"Ideology and Integration: the Case of the British Labour Party," in Political Studies, 19, 1971.
C. Schorske	German Social Democracy.
G. Sorel	Reflections on Violence.

Alienation, Hegemony and Protest: The "Decline of Ideological Movements" in the West

Daniel Bell	The End of Ideology (final chapter).
Albert Camus	The Rebel.
Alan Haber	"The End of Ideology as Ideology" (mimeographed), partly reprinted in F. Lindenfeld, Reader in Political Sociology.
John Horton	"The Dehumanisation of Alienation and Anomie" (British Journal of Sociology).
S.M. Lipset	Political Man (final chapter).
Herbert Marcuse	Critique of Pure Tolerance (Beacon).
Herbert Marcuse	One Dimensional Man (Beacon).

Revolutionary Movements Since 1917

G. Almond	The Appeals of Communism.
H. Cantril	The Politics of Despair.
J. Dunn	Modern Revolutions.
M. Duverger	Political Parties (see analysis of French C.P.).
F. Gross	The Seizure of Political Power in a Century of Revolutions.
Chalmers Johnson	Revolutionary Change.
C. Leiden & Schmitt	Politics of Violence.
Jules Monnerot	The Sociology of Communism.
Barrington Moore	"Revolution in America?", in New York Review of Books, 1969.
M. Nomad	Aspects of Revolt.
P. Selznick	The Organisational Weapons.
Sheldon Wolin	Politics and Vision.

Peace Movements in the 20th Century (including anti-nuclear protest

C. Driver	The Disarmers.
James Finn	Protest, Pacifism and Politics. (Interviews)

Paul Goodman, ed.	Seeds of Liberation. (Articles from Liberation.)
Kenneth Keniston	Young Radicals.
Kenneth Keniston	"Youth, Violence and Change," in American Scholar, Spring, 1968.
S. Lynd	We Won't Go. (Collection of statements.)
Frank Parkin	Middle-Class Radicalism.
Lawrence Wittner	Rebels Against War.
W.R.I.	"American Deserters" (War Resistance, Vol. 2, No. 2) and "They Love It But Leave It."

Extra-parliamentary Movements: The New Left

D. Apter & James Joll	Anarchism Today. (Collection)
G. Benello & D. Roussoupoulos	Participatory Democracy. (Reader)
Murray Bookchin	Post-Scarcity Anarchism.
D. Cohn-Bendit	Obsolete Communism.
Cook & Morgan	Participatory Democracy. (Reader)
Mitchell Goddman	Movement for a New America. (Collection)
Alan Haber	"The End of Ideology as Ideology," reprinted in Lindenfeld, op. cit.
Jacobs & Landau	The New Radicals.
Priscilla Long	The New Left Reader. (Collection)
Barrington Moore	"Revolution in America?", New York Review of Books, 1969.
'Ramparts'	Voices from the New Reality.
Stephen Spender	1968: Year of the Young Rebels.
Massimo Teodri	The New Left. (Documents and history.)
James Weinstein	For a New America.

Non-violent Protest Movements and Direct Action (since Garibaldi)

April Carter	Direct Action in a Democracy.
Kenneth Clark	"Civil Rights Movement," in Daedalus, Winter, 1966.
Paul Goodman	Seeds of Liberation. (Collection)
M.L. King & R. Williams	"Debate on Armed Defense," in Seeds of Liberation.
George Lakey	Strategy for Nonviolent Revolution.
Stoughton Lynd	Non-Violence in America. (Collection)
Jack Newfield	Prophetic Minority.
Gene Sharp	Exploring Non-Violent Alternatives.
Gene Sharp	Non-Violent Action.
Shridharani	War Without Violence.
Charles Silberman	Crisis in Black and White.
Howard Zinn	SNCC: The New Abolitionists.

Counter-culture, Communes and Communitarian Movements: The Alternative Society and Expressive Movements

W.H.G. Armytage	Heavens Below.
Mike Brake	"Cultural Revolution or Alternative Delinguency," in Bailey and Young, eds., *Social Problems in Britain*.
J. Berke	Counter-Culture.
Stuart Hall	"The Hippies: An American Movement," in J. Nagel, ed., *Student Power*.
Hedgepath & Stack	The Alternative.
R.M. Kanter	Commitments and Community.
O. Klapp	The Collective Search for Identity.
J. Nuttall	Bomb Culture.
A. Rigby	Communes in Britain/Alternative Realities.
T. Roszak	Making of the Counter-Culture.
J. Yinger	"Contra-Culture," in *Am. Soc. Rev.*, 1962.

Sex Role Movements

Lee Comer	Wedlocked Women.
S. Firestone	The Dialectics of Sex.
Juliet Mitchell	Women's Estage.
Robin Morgan	Sisterhood is Powerful.
A. Oakley	Sex, Gender and Society.
T. & B. Roszak	Masculine/Feminine.
S. Rowbotham	Man's World, Women's Consciousness.
R. Sampson	The Psychology of Power.
Naomi Weinstein	"Kinder, Kiche, Kirche," in P. Brown, ed., *Radical Psychology* and Morgan, *op. cit.*
M. Wonder	The Body Politic.

Violence in Social Movements

H. Arendt	On Violence.
Bart de Ligt	Conquest of Violence.
H. Bienen	Violence and Social Change.
Coe, Page & Nieburg	Excerpts in M. Sibley, ed., *Quiet Battle*.
Jacques Ellul	Violence.
S. Freud	Civilisation and its Discontents.
T. Gurr	"Psychological Factors in Civil Violence," in *World Politics*, Jan. 1968.
H. Horsburgh	Non-Violence and Aggression.
R. Laing & D. Cooper	Reason and Violence. (On the Sartrian view.)
Herbert Marcuse	"Repressive Tolerance," in Woolf and Moore, eds., *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*.
Ashley Montague	Man and Aggression.

Arne Naess	A Systematisation of Gandhian Ethics. (Journal of Conflict Resolution).
H.L. Nieburg	Articles in Journal of Conflict Resolution; or book, *Political Violence*.
E.V. Walter	Power and Violence, in *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Vol. 58, 1964.

POSTSCRIPT:

American Social Movement -- A Note on Reading

R. Hofstadter	The Age of Reform (especially 3-22 and 60-93).
R. Hofstadter	The Paranoid Style in American Politics.
R. Hofstadter	"The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," in *American Scholar*, Winter, 1964.
W. King	Social Movements in the U.S.A.
D. Riesman & N. Glazer	"The Intellectuals and Discontented Classes," in *Partisan Review*, Winter, 1955.
E. Shils	The Torment of Secrecy.

SECTION III

SELECTED LEARNING PACKAGES IN PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES

SELECTED LEARNING PACKAGES

The following select list of learning packages includes materials developed: (1) by the Transnational Academic Program and related programs of the Institute for World Order; (2) by world order studies centers/programs associated with the Institute's Transnational Academic Program; and (3) by or under the auspices of other organizations and groups. The learning packages include both semester-long course manuals and shorter (2-3 week) modular units. They can be obtained directly from the source indicated under each.

A. Institute for World Order

The following materials are (or shortly will be) available from the Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. The Transnational Academic Program, in cooperation with the World Order Models Project, is currently preparing an entire series of world order learning packages based upon occasional papers of the World Order Models Project. The learning packages on nuclear policy and human rights are the first two in this series. Please inquire about future titles.

DISARMAMENT LEADERSHIP KIT. Operation Turning Point, Institute for World Order (1st copy free; 10 copies or less, $2.50 each; more than 10 copies, $2.00 each). Prepared as part of a nationwide public education program on disarmament, the Leadership Kit includes: an introductory leaflet entitled "I Want To See 2000"; a 12 page pamphlet describing arms control agreements and proposals; a 22 page booklet, entitled "The Disarmament Process: Where to Begin," outlining 13 possible steps for disarmament and analyzing each for its feasibility and significance; a 44 page monograph on economic conversion, entitled "Prosperity Without Guns"; a slide/tape set with discussion guide on the major arms control and disarmament issues; and, a simulation game on the UN Special Session. The Leadership Kit is suitable both for college classes and discussion groups.

FOOD/HUNGER MACRO-ANALYSIS SEMINAR, by William Moyer and Erika Thorne ($2.50). This is a complete manual for a 12 to 15 week seminar on local and global food problems. It emphasizes the links between the political, social, economic, and scientific dimensions of local and global food/hunger issues. Using a democratic/participatory classroom process, it encourages students to recognize the impact that they can have in solving existing food/hunger problems. This manual is suitable for both college courses and independent study groups.

GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN SURVIVAL: AN INTRODUCTION TO WORLD ORDER STUDIES, by Burns H. Weston ($5.00). This is a complete manual for an introductory world order course, focusing upon the relationship between the world order values of peace, social justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance. It presents an analysis of the existing international system, including a case study of the world food/hunger problem and an overview of other major global problems, and encourages students to develop alternative conceptions of world order. A detailed syllabus/outline and basic reading materials with appropriate study questions and writing assignments are provided.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD ORDER. Transnational Academic Program ($2.00). This package presents different cultural and ideological perspectives on human rights. By placing the liberal conception of human rights into a broader world order framework, it demonstrates the connections between human rights and other world order concerns such as basic economic needs, modernization and development, and the quest for a new international economic order. It includes a world order paper by Fouad Ajami (Princeton University), with comments from several other authorities, study and discussion questions, and a selected bibliography. Ideal for a 2-4 week segment of an international relations course or human rights course.

NUCLEAR POLICY AND WORLD ORDER: THE CASE FOR DENUCLEARIZATION. Transnational Academic Program ($2.00). Within a world order framework, this package examines the dangers of a nuclear world, the inadequacy of the present international system to come to grips with these dangers, and the case for policies of complete denuclearization (both military and civilian) as opposed to more limited nonproliferation policies. It presents students with several transition strategies for demilitarized, decentralized security and energy systems. It includes: a world order paper by Richard A. Falk (Princeton University); comments by Steven J. Baker (University of Texas), P. Terrence Hopmann (University of Minnesota) and other leading scholars; study and discussion questions; and a selected bibliography. Ideal for a 2-4 week segment of a course on arms control and disarmament, and suitable for any other international relations course.

B. World Order Studies Centers/Programs

CONFLICT REGULATION, by Paul Wehr. Conflict and Peace Studies Program, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80302. The purpose of this manual is to provide a comprehensive assessment of the theories and research concerning the causes and dynamics of conflict and the models and techniques of conflict regulation. It identifies a need for developing nonviolent and controlled means of conflict regulation that become integral processes of societal behavior. In addition to basic readings, the manual includes informative charts identifying theories of conflict and regulatory techniques, a variety of stimulating exercises and assignments, and an extensive annotated bibliography. Suitable for a 12-15 week course.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND WORLD FUTURES, by Robert E. Riggs. World Order Studies Project, Quigley Center of International Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 ($1.00) This is a prescriptive study of the nature and function of present and future global systems and of their capacities to deal with the existing threats of nuclear war, resource scarcity, and environmental degradation. It presents several appraisals of the existing global crisis, evaluates past utopias, projects preferred world orders and considers possible transition strategies. It includes basic readings, a course outline/syllabus, an annotated bibliography, as well as discussion questions and simulation exercises. Constitutes a 12-15 week course.

INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AND PEACE, by P. Terrence Hopmann & Brian L. Job. World Order Studies Project, Quigley Center of International Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 ($1.00). Designed as a 12-15 week course, this package examines different moral and normative perspectives on war, analyzes the causes of international violence, and explores different ways to minimize it. After illustrating that international violence is inherent in the present international system, the authors proceed to examine means of minimizing international violence by restructuring the present world order. This package includes lecture outlines, descriptions of background readings, discussion questions and assignments, and a simulation game.

MODERNIZATION, EQUALITY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, by Bert Ellenbogen & Sheila Henry. World Order Studies Project, Quigley Center of International Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 ($1.00). Designed for a 12-15 week course, this package investigates economic and social stratification within (1) the international system of nation-states, (2) the subsystems of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Worlds, and (3) individual nations. It examines the hierarchical distribution of scarce resources (wealth, power, and status) at each of these levels.

Different views of social justice and modernization are presented as are alternative world orders capable of providing social justice. The package includes a teaching outline, discussion questions, a list of paper topics, and an annotated bibliography.

THE PROSPECTIVE WORLD ECONOMY, by Harlan M. Smith. World Order Studies Project, Quigley Center of International Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 ($1.00). In this course manual, the author presents a systematic examination of the present evolution of the present world economy, a projection of current economic trends, and a discussion of possible world economic futures. Its major purpose is to explore ways of realizing global economic well-being, taking into account the war system, ideological conflict, developing countries' needs, and the depletion of natural resources. This package includes an annotated reading list, a course outline and discussion questions and exercises.

C. Other

A COLLECTIVE GOODS APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING TRANSNATIONAL ACTION, by Harvey Starr & Charles W. Ostrom. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.50). The primary objective of this package is to explicate a concept -- "collective goods" -- which will enable students to analyze transnational organizational arrangements and decision-making. In particular, upon completion of this unit, students should be able to: (1) define the relationship between the two; (2) identify situations in which collective action is called for and to explain why a particular collective action is needed; and (3) apply the collective goods concept to specific kinds of international/transnational phenomena (alliances, regional IGOs, and multinational corporations). The package makes use of data ayalysis activities, game theory exercises, and various expository materials.

A LEARNING PACKAGE IN WORLD ORDER STUDIES, by Louis Rene Beres. Occasional Paper No. 7, The Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association, Center for International Studies, University of Missouri, St. Louis, MO 63121. The primary objective of this package is the conceptualization and investigation of alternative world futures. After an examination of the present world order and an introduction to data collection/interpretation for world order modelling, the package enables students to design their own visions for a new world order based upon their chosen values. It is a self-contained unit to be supplemented only by readings from Louis Beres & Harry Targ, Reordering the Planet: Constructing Alternative Futures (see bibliography infra.).

CONSCIENTIZATION. Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, World Council of Churches, 150 Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20 Switzerland. This collection of documents on conscientization and political education provides essential perspectives for any course in social change, economic development, or social justice. The collection includes: descriptions of conscientization and its purposes; selected writings of Paulo Freire with supportive and unsympathetic critiques, background articles on the evolution of thought of Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich; reports on conscientization and similar forms of political education in Brazil, Chile, Thailand, and Peru; and a comprehensive bibliography.

CONTROLLING INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, by J. Martin Rochester & Jean Stern. International Relations Program, Syracuse University; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017. This package examines the present as well as potential role of international law and organizations such as the United Nations and International Court of Justice in controlling international violence and promoting more peaceful relations. Students are asked to formulate specific recommendations for improving the capacity of these institutions in regulating international conflict.

DEPENDENCE AND INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY, by Robert W. Russell, with Judith E. Doerr, George Lopez, Thomas M. Stauffer, & James S. West. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.50). This package demonstrates the application of basic concepts of political economy to the interpretation of international affairs. Among the specific student skills developed by the package are the ability to recognize and distinguish between different forms of international dependence/interdependence, identify variables associated with and characteristic of dependence/interdependence relationships, and formulate international issues in terms of dependence/interdependence relationships. The package contains a data set enabling students to formulate and test hypotheses concerning dependence/interdependence phenomena.

EDUCATION FOR JUSTICE: A RESOURCE MANUAL, edited by Thomas P. Fenton. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY 10545 ($7.95). This is a basic sourcebook for the design and conduct of educational programs on justice. It includes an introduction to the various approaches to education for justice, background readings, 21 experiential educational exercises on justice related themes, guidelines for formulating courses of study, and an extensive, annotated list of resources. A companion manual entitled The Participant's Workbook ($2.95) provides students with all the necessary materials for the various exercises and simulations.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT, by Anne T. Feraru. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10012 ($2.00). The overall objective of this package, designed for the introductory undergraduate level, is to introduce students to the nature of conflict at the inter-personal, inter-group (societal), and inter-societal (international) levels. The package seeks to enable students to: (1) describe their own attitudes towards various types of conflict; (2) define conflict and enumerate the various causes of conflict; (3) apply general concepts of conflict to concrete situations; and (4) describe and criticize various perspectives on conflict, particularly the analysis of "fights, games, and debates" suggested by Anatol Rapoport.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS KIT, edited by Robert Woito. World Without War Publications, 1977, World Without War Bookstore, 67 East Madison, Suite 1417, Chicago, IL 60603 ($3.00). This is a source book on internationally recognized human rights and the procedures and institutions for their protection. It can be used as a basic text for an undergraduate course on human rights.

INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS: EVENTS-DATA ANALYSIS APPLIED TO THE MIDDLE EAST, by Thomas J. Sloan. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.00). This learning package introduces students to the analysis of international politics using simple quantitative displays of events; provides information and a limited analysis of the political situation in the Middle East during the crises of 1956, 1967, and 1973. Upon completion of the package, students should be able to (1) briefly discuss various theories of conflict behavior, (2) utilize events-data analysis to describe how nations interact in conflict situations, (3) evaluate different explanations of the Middle East conflict as well as develop explanations of their own, and (4) design and generate forecasts of inter-state behavior based upon previously observed patterns of interaction.

INTRODUCTION TO THE GLOBAL SOCIETY: INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES, by Kenneth E. Boulding & Elise Boulding. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.00). The primary objective of this package is to provide students with a global perspective from which to view social, economic, and political conditions. In particular, it enables students to: (1) examine the assumptions behind their images of world social, economic, political, and historical factors; (2) locate themselves in terms of time, space, and activities in the global society; (3) apply their own values to evolving social, economic, and political conditions; and (4) employ at an introductory level sociological, geographical, historical, psychological, economic, and political science perspectives in an integrated fashion.

ORGANIZING MACRO-ANALYSIS SEMINARS: A MANUAL. Philadelphia Macro-Analysis Collective, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143 ($1.00). This manual describes an innovative, group-process, approach to the study of the global crisis, called "macro-analysis," which emphasizes democratic and participatory principles. This process involves a systematic inquiry into society's maladies and the identification and implementation of ways to change the present system to correct those ills. This manual provides outlines for both 12 and 24 week seminars.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. American Friends Service Committee, New England Regional Office, 48 Inman Street, Cambridge, MA 02139 ($3.00, over 10 copies $2.75). This education/action kit contains articles and learning materials on the issues relating to: the proposals and prospects of a new international economic order; the growing disparities between the world's rich and poor; and alternative economic systems and transition strategies for realizing a more just world economic structure. It also includes a practical action guide and annotated bibliography.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN WORLD POLITICS, by Werner J. Feld & Roger A. Coate. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.00). This package is designed to enable students to: (1) identify and describe the types and organizational features of NGOs; (2) analyze their effectiveness in influencing the formulation and implementation of government policies and decisions; and (3) assess the effectiveness of NGOs in solving global problems. It contains extensive data on NGOs and introduces the student to the Yearbook of International Organizations and other pertinent information for research and analysis.

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF WAR, by Stuart Bremer, Cindy Cannizzo, Charles Kegley & James Ray. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.50). This package introduces students to the basic principles of scientific inquiry and, in particular, to the application of these principles in the study of the causes of war. It distinguishes between the different approaches to the scientific study of war, and provides students with an opportunity to formulate a bivariate hypothesis about violent conflict, construct a research design for testing that hypothesis, and analyze empirical evidence relating to the hypothesis.

THE STATE SYSTEM EXERCISE, by William D. Coplin. International Relations Program, Syracuse University; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($1.50). The primary purpose of this package is to introduce students to the dynamics of various international systems through the enactment of three simulations involving the 18th Century state system, that of the late 19th Century, and the modern State system. This package can be used as an enriching, supplementary activity for any introductory international relations course.

THE USES OF THE SEA, by John K. Gamble. Consortium for International Studies Education, International Studies Association; order from Learning Resources in International Studies, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 ($2.00). This package is designed to provide students with a general overview of the economic and political factors shaping the attempt of states to regulate the uses of the sea. It contains a simulation exercise involving the major issues and controversies surrounding the uses of the sea in the contemporary world. Students are introduced to such concepts as territorial sea, continental shelf, and exclusive fishery zones, and are required to play decision-making roles in the formulation of national marine policy.

WHOLE EARTH PAPERS. Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, NJ 07017 (annual subscription $10.00). This monograph series explores specific human issues in the context of the global interdependencies of our age. It deals with the linkages between the need for effective world law and such unresolved domestic issues as alienation, education, environment, hunger, etc. The papers suggest a variety of strategies by which individuals can participate in the creation of alternative structures for fulfilling presently unmet human needs.

WORLD DISARMAMENT KIT, edited by Robert Woito. World Without War Bookstore, 67 East Madison, Suite 1417, Chicago, IL 60603 ($2.50). This resource kit presents contending perspectives on the arms race and a range of proposals for moving toward disarmament. It includes information and documents on: the arms race; arms control agreements and the international agencies involved; disarmament proposals; and resources for information and action.

WORLD FOOD CRISIS: A SELF-EDUCATION PACKAGE. Cambridge Committee for Self-Education, 11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 ($2.00). This is a collection of articles exploring the political and economic forces affecting the supply and control of food. The package seeks to educate students for change and suggests several specific ways for students to initiate change. It can be used in the classroom or as the basis for an independent study group.

SECTION IV

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY: BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

The following select list of books and periodicals is restricted to those titles which are deemed basic to a Peace and World Order Studies resource library. Except for an initial category of general titles which are either classics or important new additions to the study of global affairs (a criterion used through all categories), the list of books is divided according to the principal topical and analytical themes which are the concern of peace and world order teaching and research. The list of periodicals includes resource newsletters as well as scholarly journals.

A. Books

General

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DEVELOPMENT FORUM. Centre for Economics and Social Information/ OPI/UN, CH 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. Ten issues per year, free.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE. University of Chicago Press, 5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637. Quarterly, $15.00 individuals ($12.00 students), $20.00 institutions.

EE REPORT. Center for Environmental Education, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037. Ten issues per year, $25.00.

ETHICS. University of Chicago Press, 5801 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637. Quarterly, $10.50 individuals, $14.00 institutions.

FCNL WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street, N.E., Washington, DC 20002. Eleven issues per year, $10.00.

FELLOWSHIP. Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. Monthly, $6.00.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Council of Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10021. Quarterly, $12.00.

FOREIGN POLICY. 11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Quarterly, $12.00.

FUTURES. IPC Science and Technology Press, IPC House, 32 High Street, Guilford, Surrey, England GU1 3EW. Bi-monthly, $35.00.

GLEANINGS. Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, NJ 07017. Quarterly, $2.00.

GLOBAL REPORT. Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 East 18th Street, New York, NY 10003. Six to ten issues per year, $15.00.

HUNGER NOTES. World Hunger Education Service, 2115 S Street, N.W., Washington, DC. Monthly, $6.00.

INSTANT RESEARCH ON PEACE AND VIOLENCE. Tampere Peace Research Institute, Tammelanpuistokatu 58 B, Tampere, Finland. Quarterly, $8.00.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION REPORT. Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Three to four issues per year, free.

INTERCHANGE (POPULATION EDUCATION NEWSLETTER). Population Reference Bureau, 1337 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Five times per year, free.

INTERCOM. Center for Global Perspectives, 218 East 18th Street, New York, NY 10003. Quarterly, $6.00.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT REVIEW. Society for International Development, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Quarterly, $25.00, libraries, $12.00.

INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS: A TRANSNATIONAL MULTIDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL. Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 42 William IV Street, London WC 2, England.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES. Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 42 William IV Street, London WC 2, England. Bi-monthly, $38.00 individuals, $75.00 institutions.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF GROUP TENSIONS. International Organization for the Study of Group Tensions, 10 West 66th Street, New York, NY 10023. Quarterly, $12.00 individuals, $20.00 institutions.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. Sponsored by World Peace Foundation and published by University of Wisconsin, Box 1379, Madison, WI 53701. Quarterly, $12.50.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH NEWSLETTER. International Peace Research Association (membership organization), P.O. Box 70, 33101 Tampere 10, Finland. About six issues per year, free with IPRA membership or $7.00.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES NEWSLETTER. Center for Peace Studies, The University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325. Three issues per year, free.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. Program for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, 9 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Quarterly, $12.00.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL. UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, 75 Paris 7, France. Quarterly, $7.00.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY (official publication of the International Studies Association). Sage Publications, 275 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, CA 90212. Quarterly, free with ISA membership, $30.00 regular institutional rate.

IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST (A Project of the Fund for Peace). P.O. Box 6676, Washington, DC 20009. Monthly, $4.00.

ISIS (INTERCULTURAL STUDIES INFORMATION SERVICE). Foreign Area Materials Center, 60 East 42nd Street, Suite 1231, New York, NY 10017. Monthly, $20.00.

JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION. Center for Research on Conflict Resolution, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. Quarterly, $10.00.

JOURNAL OF ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION. Heldref Publications, 4000 Albemarle Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20016. Quarterly, $10.00 individuals, $12.50 institutions.

JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. School of International Affairs, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027. Semi-annual, $12.50.

JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH. Universitetsforlaget, P.O. Box 7508, Skillebekk, Oslo 2, Norway. Quarterly, $15.00.

JOURNAL OF PEACE STUDIES. Peace Studies Institute, Manhattan College, Riverdale, NY 10471. Three issues per year, $5.00.

JOURNAL OF WORLD EDUCATION. Association for World Education, 530 East 86th Street, New York, NY 10028. Quarterly, $15.00 individual, $7.00 students, $10.00 libraries.

JUST FOR THE PRESS. American Committee on East-West Accord, 30 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002.

JUSTICE IN THE SCHOOLS. Inter-Community Center for Justice and Peace, 20 Washington Square North, New York, NY 10011.

MACROSCOPE. Transnational Academic Program, Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Two to three issues per year, free.

MEMOS. Global Development Studies Institute, P.O. Box 522, 14 Main Street, Madison, NJ 07940. Six issues per year, $2.00.

MILITARISM MEMO. Committee on Militarism in Education, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10906. Bi-monthly, free (contributions welcome).

NEW INTERNATIONALIST. 62A High Street, Wallington, Oxford, England; 112 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11201. Monthly, $12.00.

NEW PERSPECTIVES. Information Centre of the World Peace Council. P.O. Box 19114, Helsinki, Finland. Bi-monthly, $10.00.

NEWSLETTER OF THE IRISH COMMISSION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE. Irish Commission for Peace and Justice, 169 Booterstown Avenue, Blackrock, County Dublin, Ireland. Occasional, free.

NEWSLETTER ON PEACE, JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. Lutheran World Federation, Department of Studies, 150 route de Ferney, P.O. Box 66, CH-1211, Geneva 20, Switzerland. Occasional, free.

NEWSLETTER OF SACRAMENTO PEACE CENTER. Sacramento Peace Center, 1107 9th Street, Room 1007, Sacramento, CA 95814. Occasional, $10.00.

PAPERS -- PEACE SCIENCE SOCIETY INTERNATIONAL. University of Pennsylvania, 23718 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19174. Bi-annual, $6.00.

PEACE AND CHANGE. Committee on Peace Research in History in association with COPRED, Consortium of Peace Research, Education and Development (membership organization), c/o Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, MN 56082. Three to four issues per year, $7.50, free to members.

PEACE DIGEST. Lamplighter Lane, Newington, CT 06111. Bi-monthly, $6.00.

PEACE EDUCATION. D 61/21-D Sidhgiribag, Varanasi - 221 001 India; or International Association of Educators for World Peace, P.O. Box 3282, Blue Spring Station, Huntsville, AL 35810. Bi-annual, $6.00.

PEACE PROGRESS. Faculty of Education, Hirosaki University, Hirosaki, Aomori, 036 Japan; or International Association of Educators for World Peace, P.O. Box 3282, Blue Spring Station, Huntsville, AL 35810. $6.00.

PEACE RESEARCH ABSTRACTS JOURNAL. Canadian Peace Research Institute, 119 Thomas Street, Oakville, Ontario, L6J 3A7, Canada. Monthly, $10.00.

PEACE RESEARCH IN JAPAN. Japan Peace Research Society, 1-15-23 Higashi, Kaigon, Tsujido, Fujisawa. SHI, Japan 251. One issue per year, free in exchange for other journals.

PEACE RESEARCH REVIEWS. Canadian Peace Research Institute, 119 Thomas Street, Oakville, Ontario, Canada L6J 3A7. Six issues per year, $20.00.

PERSPECTIVES. Association of Leaders of Latin American Studies, P.O. Box 73, Lefferts Station, Brooklyn, NY 11225. Five issues per year, free to members.

PLANTING TREES. Institute for Education in Peace and Justice, 3700 W. Pine, St. Louis, MO 63108.

POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW. The Population Council, One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Quarterly, free.

PRIORITIES. The Peace Lab, 438 No. Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130. Eight issues per year, $2.50.

SANE WORLD. SANE, 318 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002. Monthly, $4.00.

SUSTENANCE. The Action Center, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., 302, Washington, DC 20036. Nine issues per year, free.

TEACHER EDUCATION. Indian Association of Teacher Educators, 8B Bandh Road, Allengariji, Allahabad, (U.P.), India. Free to members.

THE ECOLOGIST. 73 Molesworth Street, Wadebridge, Cornwall, NY. Monthly, $14.50.

THE ELEMENTS. Transnational Institute of the Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009. Eleven issues per year, $5.00.

THE FUTURIST. World Future Society, P.O. Box 30369, Bethesda Branch, Washington, DC 20013. Bi-monthly, $15.00. individuals, $18.00 institutions.

THE HUMANIST. 923 Kensington Avenue, Buffalo, NY 14215. Six issues per year, $10.00.

THE INTERDEPENDENT. United Nations Association of the USA (membership organization), 300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017. Eleven issues per year, $5.00.

THE NEW ERA. World Education Fellowship, 53 Grayskott Road, London, SW11 5TS, England. World Studies Project, 24 Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, London, SW1A 2J7, England. Six issues per year, $8.00.

TRANET. Box 567, Rangeley, ME 04970. Quarterly, free, contributions accepted.

TRANSACTION/SOCIETY. Transaction, Rutgers, The State University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903.

TRANSITION. Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Occasional, free.

TRANSNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS. Union of International Associations, 1 Rue aux Laines, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgium. Monthly, 850 B.F.

TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES. World Association of World Federalists and World Federalist Youth, Leliegracht 21, Amsterdam-C, The Netherlands. Four issues per year, $5.00.

WAR/PEACE REPORT. Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, One Park Avenue, New York, NY 10016. Bi-monthly, $9.50 individuals, ($5.00 students), $19.50 institutions.

WAYS AND MEANS. Transnational Academic Program, Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Two to four issues per year, $4.00, free with membership in Consortium for Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED).

WCCI NEWSLETTER. World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (membership organization), Box 171, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

WHOLE EARTH PAPERS. Global Eucation Associates, 522 Park Avenue, East Orange, NJ 07017. Quarterly, $10.00.

WORLD POLITICS. Center of International Studies, Princeton University, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ 08540. Quarterly, $10.00.

WORLDVIEW. Council on Religion and International Affairs, 170 East 64th Street, New York, NY 10021. Monthly (except July/August and January/February), $10.00 ($6.50 students).

WORLD PEACE NEWS. American Movement for World Government, 11th Floor, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Nine times per year, $7.00.

WORLD WITHOUT WAR BOOKSTORE NEWSLETTER. World Without War Council, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Quarterly, free.

SECTION V

SELECTED MULTIMEDIA MATERIALS

SELECTED MULTIMEDIA MATERIALS

Listed selectively below are films, filmstrips, slideshows, simulation games, and other audio-visual materials of demonstrated relevance and utility to the peace and world order studies classroom or discussion group. The prices listed are rental prices unless otherwise indicated.

For additional listings, consult the course outlines included in Section II of this curriculum guide. For more comprehensive listings, consult local libraries and resource centers.

Editor's Note: The Transnational Academic Program would be grateful to learn about any especially useful multimedia materials you may know about. Please send detailed information.

A. Films

ACTUA-TILT, 12 minutes, B & W, 1961. Pyramid Films, Box 1048. Santa Monica, CA 90406 ($15.00). A disturbing film about one person's indifference to war and violence, his absorption in a materialistic world, and his apparent loss of humanity.

APARTHEID: 20th CENTURY SLAVERY, 27 minutes, B & W, 1971. McGraw-Hill Films, Distribution Center, Princeton Road, Hightstown, NJ 08520 ($8.00). A UN documentary film on the apartheid system, examining the contrast in living and working conditions of Black Africans and whites in South Africa.

BEYOND THE NEXT HARVEST, 27 minutes, color, 1975. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 ($25.00). A good introduction to causes contributing to world food crisis. Filmed at World Food Conference in 1974, it includes interviews with delegates.

BOTTLE BABIES, 28 minutes, color, 1975. Tricontinental Film Center, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10014 ($30.00). A film about the impact of milk formulas, marketed by multinationals, on infants in developing countries.

BUT WHAT DO WE DO?, 17 minutes, color, 1968. University of California Extension Media Center, University of California, Berkeley, CA 04720 ($15.00). The true story of a weapons engineer who, disturbed by the moral implications of his work, has to decide whether or not to give up his challenging, well-paid job.

CASMIRO: AN ANDEAN JOURNEY, 30 minutes, color, 1975. Osfam-America, 302 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02116 ($15.00). Depicts the hard life of Indians on the high plateau of Bolivia, and how a group moves to the lowlands seeking more fertile land.

DEAD BIRDS, 83 minutes, color, 1963. Oregon State, Audio-Visual Instruction, 133 Gill Coliseum, Corvallis, OR 97331 ($16.75). Intensive two-year ethnographic study documents way of life of the Dani, a people dwelling in the mountains of western New Guinea, who base their values on an elaborate system of intertribal warfare and revenge.

DIET FOR A SMALL PLANET, 20 minutes, color, 1973. New England AFSC, 48 Inman Street, Cambridge, MA 02139 ($10.00). Discussion of the ecological implications of dependence on meat for protein source. Similar to book.

DR. STRANGELOVE, 93 minutes, B & W, 1963. Columbia Cinematheque, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10022 ($150.00). Satire on the military mind, anti-communist hysteria, and war-prevention measures.

FABLE SAFE, 9 minutes, color, 1971. Center for Mass Communications, Columbia University Press (purchase, $126.00). Animated satire on the arms race and how national security reasoning has translated into super-overkill.

FACES OF MY BROTHER, 5 minutes, color, 1973. Maryknoll Fathers, Maryknoll, NY 10575 (free). A short on "Who is the Third World?", which provides a glimpse into America's ignorance of the Third World.

FARMING IS FARMING, 45 minutes, color. Ram Films, 200 Lovers Lane, Steubenville, OH 43952 ($45.00). The film attempts to create an awareness of small farming as an alternative to agri-business.

GAMES, 7 minutes, color. Roa Films, 1696 North Astor Street, Milwaukee, WI 53202 ($15.00). Animated "history" of weapons from spear to atomic bombs.

GAMES OF PEACE, 13 minutes, color, 1971. Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036 ($7.00). Features Art Carney looking at reasons for working toward permanent world peace through the UN. Includes an animated sequence on futility of armed conflict.

GUYANA: NATION BUILDING, 20 minutes, color or B & W, 1971. Indiana University Audio Visual Center (color, $10.25; B & W, $7.75). An examination of many problems faced by a newly independent country in achieving economic growth and stability.

HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI, AUGUST 1945, 16 minutes, B & W, 1970. University of Washington, Audio-Visual Services, Seattle, WA 98195 ($5.00). Once classified "secret" by U.S. military authorities, this film is a devastating record filmed by Japanese cameramen of the U.S. atomic bombings.

HUNGER IN AMERICA, 52 minutes, color, 1968. AFL-CIO Film Division, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20006 ($7.50). A famous CBS documentary about the hungry in the United States.

INCENTIVE FOR ACTION, 24 minutes, color, 1973. AV Media, INC., 324 North Fairfax Street, Alexandria, VA 22307 ($30.00). A UN film which shows how self-help projects of the UN World Food Program affect individuals.

IS IT ALWAYS RIGHT TO BE RIGHT?, 8 minutes, color, 1971. Oregon State, Audio-Visual Instruction, 133 Gill Coliseum, Corvallis, OR 97331 ($5.75). A parable in animation and live action, narrated by Orson Welles, focusing on divisive issues in society -- war, poverty, the generation gap, race -- and ending with a declaration of interdependence among men.

KATATURA, 37 minutes, color, 1974. Phoenix Films, 470 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016 ($47.50). Taking its title from the African word for total insecurity, this film examines apartheid in South Africa.

LAST GRAVE AT DIMBAZA, 58 minutes, color, 1974. National Council of Churches, Africa Committee, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027 ($45.00). An introduction to South Africa and its racially-based social, political and economic problems.

LEAVING IT TO THE EXPERTS, 8 minutes, B & W, 1955. National Film Board of Canada, 680 Fifth Avenue, Suite 819, New York, NY 10019 ($5.00). Two farmers in a Canadian country store debate the role of the individual citizen vs. the experts in world affairs.

MAHATMA GANDHI, 19 minutes, B & W, 1955. University of California Extension Media Center, University of California, Berkeley, CA 04720 ($11.00). A film showing the life and principles of Gandhi and the historic steps that led to his dream of independence for India; assembled from documentary materials.

MAHATMA GANDHI SILENT REVOLUTION, 38 minutes, color, 1969. International Film Bureau, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60604 ($22.50). A lengthy detailed study showing Gandhi's idea for rebuilding rural India through basic education, revival of village industries, and agricultural reform.

MANDABI, 90 minutes, color, 1968. Grove Press, Film Division, 53 East 11th Street, New York, NY 10003 ($150.00). Filmed by African director Sembene, this film shows an ancient civilization in the throes of change after a century of colonial tutelage and corruption.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 30 minutes, B & W, 1968. Oregon State, Audio-Visual Instruction, 133 Gill Coliseum, Corvallis, OR 97331 ($6.50). A filmed interview with the civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, touching on the subjects of civil rights, Gandhi's influence on his life, and nonviolence.

NAPALM, 27 minutes, B & W, 1967. King Screen Productions, 320 Aurora Avenue, N., Seattle, WA 98109 ($10.00). A semi-documentary account of a citizens' protest at the napalm plant in Redwood City.

NIGHT AND FOG, 31 minutes, B & W with color, 1955. University of Michigan Audio-Visual Center, 416 Fourth Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48103 ($9.75). A powerful film on Nazi concentration camps in World War II and the problem of moral accountability.

NO PLACE TO GO, 28 minutes, color, 1976. United Nations Film Library, United Nations, New York, NY 10017 ($30.00, rental; $260.00, purchase). Produced for the UN Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT), a dramatic portrayal of the impact of rural migration on the cities in the developing countries, using Mexico as a typical example.

OBEDIENCE, 45 minutes, B & W, 1963. University of Michigan Audio-Visual Center, 416 Fourth Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48104 ($7.75). A documentary of the Milgram experiments at Yale in which volunteers were required to administer increasingly painful jolts of electricity to other supposed volunteers who had given wrong answers to a test.

RICH MAN, POOR MAN: FOOD, 52 minutes, color, 1972. Time/Life Films, 43 West 16th Street, New York, NY 10011 ($50.00). Shows how some countries have become dependent upon imports of machinery, fertilizers, and pesticides as a result of the Green Revolution.

RIVERS OF LIFE, 10 minutes, color, 1975. Audio-Visual Department E844, World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20433 (free). A film about Bangladesh which counters the pessimistic view of the country as hopelessly poor by pointing to resources of the country.

STONES OF EDEN, 25 minutes, color, 1965. McGraw-Hill Films, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020 ($23.00). An award-winning film on a year in the life of a farmer in Afghanistan, showing his ancient tools, the primitive system of farm credit, and his goals in life.

THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS, 123 minutes, B & W, 1966. French and Arabic dialogue with English subtitles. Audio-Brandon, 406 Clement Street, San Francisco, CA 94118 ($110.00). A documentary-style reconstruction of the Algerian rebellion against the French between 1954 and 1957.

THE BEGINNING OR THE END, 15 minutes, color, 1977. University of Minnesota, Audio-Visual Library Service, 3300 University Avenue Southeast, Minneapolis, MN 55414 ($15.00). Sponsored by the UN Association of Minnesota, this is a film on human survival in a world of increasingly interdependent nations.

THE EARTH AND MANKIND SERIES, 20 minutes (each), B & W, 1960. Oregon State, Audio-Visual Instruction, 133 Gill Coliseum, Corvallis, OR 97331 ($6.50 each). Six films, each complete in itself. Titles are: "People by the Billions"; "Man and His Resources"; "To Each a Rightful Share"; " The Global Struggle for Food"; "Can the Earth Provide?"; and "Challenge to Mankind."

THE FATAL COMPETITION, 60 minutes, color, 1977. Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, MA 02117 (free, check local public library). Episode eight, from John Kenneth Galbraith's series, "The Age of Uncertainty," this segment analyzes the evolution of the arms race.

THE FOOD REVOLUTION, 26 minutes, color, 1969. McGraw-Hill Films, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020 ($23.00). Produced by CBS News, it focuses on new food technologies as a solution to the food-population dilemma.

THE HAT: IT THIS WAR NECESSARY?, 18 minutes, color, 1964. Mass Media Ministries, 2115 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 ($15.00). An animated film by John and Faith Hubley, which raises questions about the need for a world legal authority.

THE HOLE, 15 minutes, color. Roa Films, 1696 North Astor Street, Milwaukee, WI 53202 ($15.00). Light but provacative treatment of the probability that an accident might trigger nuclear war.

THE JOKE, 80 minutes, B & W, 1969 (Czech with English subtitles). Grove Press Film Division, 53 East 11th Street, New York, NY 10003 ($150.00). An attack on Stalinism, totalitarianism and political opportunism, examining a corrupt society through one man's experiences.

THE RED STAIN, 14 minutes, color, 1962. Contemporary Films/ McGraw-Hill, 1714 Stockton Street, San Francisco, CA 94133 ($20.00). A touching animation produced in Czechoslovakia, which symbolizes the victory of the spirit of peace over the forces of war.

THE RIGHT TO EAT, 30 minutes, color, 1975. American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 719, Washington, DC 20006 ($40.00 non-members; $25.00 members). A film on the world food crisis, illustrating a nine point charter on the Right to Eat and outlining positive steps to end hunger.

THE SELLING OF THE PENTAGON, 54 minutes, B & W, 1971. University of Michigan Audio Visual Center, 416 Fourth Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48103 ($10.50). The controversial CBS-TV documentary investigating the Pentagon's public relations/propaganda activities.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER, 5 minutes, color. Roa Films, 1696 North Astor Street, Milwaukee, WI 53202 ($15.00). An eloquent anti-war plea.

THE WAR GAME, 49 minutes, B & W, 1966. Contemporary Films, Inc., 440 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016 ($75.00, by special arrangement -- mention Film Feedback when ordering). Peter Watkin's award-winning film depicting nuclear attack on an English city. Grimly powerful.

3900 MILLION AND ONE, 50 minutes, color, 1974. Oxfam America, 302 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02116 ($25.00). An excellent film on family planning issues, which focuses on the birth of a child in an Indian family.

THIS WORLD IS NOT FOR CHILDREN, 54 minutes, color, 1975. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 ($35.00). A film about children living in poverty in India, Peru, Columbia, Thailand and Africa. Narrated by Peter Ustinov.

TILT, 23 minutes, color, 1972. Audio-Visual Department E844, World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20433 (free). An anthology in cartoon form, showing how world wealth is inequitably distributed.

TO FEED THE HUNGRY, 45 minutes, color, 1971. McGraw-Hill Films, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020 ($34.00). A film about hunger, documenting a breakdown in one city's anti-hunger campaign because of bureaucracy and indifference.

TOYS, 8 minutes, color, 1967. Pyramid Films, Box 1048, Santa Monica, CA 90406 ($12.00). Raises questions about the effect of war toys on children, and the corresponding responsibilities of adults.

TRAGEDY OR TRIUMPH, 28 minutes, color, 1974. FMS Films, P.O. Box 7316, Alexandria, VA 22307 ($35.00). A film reporting the outcomes of the World Food Conference and pointing to causes and cures of the world food/hunger problem.

TRIUMPH OF THE WILL, 120 minutes, B & W, 1934-36 (German with English subtitles). Audio-Brandon, 406 Clement Street, San Francisco, CA 94118 ($40.00). Commissioned by Adolf Hitler for propaganda purposes, this is a filmed record of the Sixth Annual Party Congress in Nuremberg in 1934. It is now a unique document of a dictator's philosophy and methods.

TURNING POINT, 28 minutes, color, 1975. FMS Films, P.O. Box 7316, Alexandria, VA 22307 ($28.00). An analysis of the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly (1974), and the changing economic relations between the Third World and the industrialized countries.

TWO CASTLES, 3 minutes, B & W, Roa Films, 1696 North Astor Street, Milwaukee, WI 53202 ($10.00). An animated film which probes into the nature of aggression.

VIVRE, 8 minutes, B & W, 1959. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 ($7.50). A moving film of newsreel excerpts, showing faces of civilian victims of war from all over the world.

VOYAGE TO NEXT, 10 minutes, color. Film Images, 17 West 60th Street, New York, NY 10023 ($20.00). A film about our chances for the future.

WHO INVITED US?, 60 minutes, B & W, 1970. Indiana University, Audio-Visual Center, Bloomington, IN 47401 ($13.50). Examines the motivations, manner, and extent of U.S. involvement in the affairs of other countries.

WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD, 48 minutes, color, 1974. Fieldstaff Films, American Universities Field Staff ($49.00; $18.00-$20.00 shorter versions). A study of contrasting status of women in Bolivia, China, Kenya, and Afghanistan. Individual segments on each country, 17-18 minutes in length, are available.

WORLD FOOD: SIMPLIFICATION OF LIFE STYLE, 7 minutes, color, 1975. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218 ($12.50). A challenge to the well-fed. Questions many aspects of affluent life-styles.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BUY WAR, MRS. SMITH, 30 minutes, B & W, 1970. American Friends Service Committee, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL 60605 ($10.00). A speech by Bess Meyerson Grant, Commissioner of Consumer Affairs in New York, examining U.S. military involvement in Asia and its consequences both domestically and internationally.

B. Filmstrips/Slideshows

A CALL TO ARMS . . . CONTROL, 15 minutes, slideshow with cassette and discussion guide. Operation Turning Point, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036 (purchase $30.00, rental $5.00). Background information on arms control.

ACTIVE NONVIOLENCE: A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO VIOLENCE IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS, 2 slide projectors, tape recorder and live narration; 136 slides and script. Larry Gara, Wilmington College, Wilmington, OH ($33.00 for cassette; write for details on price).

A WORLD HUNGRY, five color filmstrips with record or tape, 1976. TeleKETICS, Franciscan Communications Center, 1229 South Santee Street, Los Angeles, CA 90015 (purchase with record, $79.95; with cassette, $84.50). This series discusses the causes of hunger, solutions, and personal methods of response.

BANKING ON SOUTH AFRICA, slideshow/filmstrip with soundtrack on cassette tape. Pat Hughes, Packard Manse, 583 Plain Street, Stoughton, MA 02072 (slideshow: rental, $13.00, purchase, $53.00; filmstrip: rental, $7.00, purchase, $17.00). Describes South Africa's apartheid system and examines the contribution of North American bank loans to its perpetuation. Suggests ways that individuals and groups can work for change.

CONFRONTATION, four sound filmstrips, booklets, full simulation, teacher's guide. Social Studies School Service, 10,000 Culver City Boulevard, Culver City, CA 90230 (complete set, $150.00; game separate, $60.00). A multimedia and simulation unit on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

GLOBAL TERROR, 35 minutes, color slideshow. American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, NY 10003 ($5.00). Documents the construction of the nuclear submarine Trident in an indictment of military spending.

GUESS WHO'S COMING TO BREAKFAST, 40 minutes, slideshow/filmstrip, with soundtrack on cassette tape. Pat Hughes, Packard Manse, 583 Plain Street, Stoughton, MA 02072 (slides: $63.00 purchase, $13.00 rental; filmstrip: $17.00 purchase, $7.00 rental). The growing impact of multinational corporations on our domestic economy, our culture, and on Third World countries.

GUNS OR BUTTER, 30 minutes, slideshow with tape cassettes. SANE, 318 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 ($5.00). An excellent analysis of waste in military spending and the social costs at which "security" is achieved.

HUNGER IN THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY, 20 minutes, color filmstrip, 1975. Center for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 ($12.50 - purchase price with cassette). Narrated by Senator Mark Hatfield, this is a good introduction to the world food/hunger problem.

HUNGER ON SPACESHIP EARTH, 30 minutes, color slideshow, 1975. American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, NY 10003 ($7.00). Outlines causes of world hunger, the steps the United States can take to help achieve solutions, and opportunities for citizen action.

SHARING GLOBAL RESOURCES, 35 minutes, slideshow/filmstrip and accompanying cassette tape. NARMIC, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 ($50.00 purchase; $5.00 weekly rental). Current world economic order, its effect on poor countries, the roles of multinational corporations, and the ways we can best respond to global demands for a more equitable sharing of resources.

THE AGE OF MEGATON, filmstrip with records or cassettes and teacher's guide. Social Studies School Service, 10,000 Culver City Boulevard, Culver City, CA 90230 (records, $27.50; cassettes, $31.50). Discusses development of nuclear arms.

THE BIG GAME, 35 minutes, color slideshow with cassette. American Friends Service Committee, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, NY 10003 ($7.00). Challenges the belief that increased armaments bring increased security.

THE NATION STATE, filmstrip with records, cassettes and teacher's guide. Social Studies School Service, 10,000 Culver City Boulevard, Culver City, CA 90230 ($20.50). The function of the nation state and its evolution.

THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, slides, dialogue and music recorded in synchronized cassette. Bay Area Human Rights Working Committee, 553 30th Street, Room 4, Oakland, CA 94609 (purchase, $60.00). Human rights violations in U.S.-backed military regimes; repressive U.S. aid; and resistance movements.

TRANSFER: FROM MILITARY SPENDING TO HUMAN NEEDS, 18 minutes, slideshow. Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002 (purchase, $30.00). The transfer amendment as a citizen action strategy.

WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY SLIDE SHOW PRESENTATION, 12 minutes, mostly color slideshow with cassette tape. Book Service, World Future Society, 4916 St. Elmo Avenue, Washington, DC 20014 (purchase, $50.00). Excellent introduction to the study of the future.

C. Simulation Games & Other Multimedia

BALDICER, simulation game. John Knox Press, Box 1176, Richmond, VA 23209 (purchase, $25.00). An effective game on the food/hunger problem for 15-40 players.

CONFLICT: A SIMULATION OF A DISARMED WORLD, simulation game. Simile II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, CA 92037 (purchase, $50.00). For 27-42 players at the high school or college level.

GUNS OR BUTTER, simulation game. Simile II, 1150 Silverado, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, CA 92037 (purchase, $25.00). Explores the international system of political and economic power. Requires 3-5 hours to play.

PLANET MANAGEMENT GAME, simulation game. Houghton-Mifflin, 2 Park Street, Boston, MA 02107 (purchase, $12.00). Role-playing of managers of a planet facing earth-like problems such as overpopulation, pollution, food shortages, and unequal incomes.

SPACESHIP SURVIVAL, simulation game. Global Education Associates, 552 Park Avenue, East Orange, NJ 07017 (free). Short, simple game about stereotyping and ethnocentrism. Most suitable for an introductory course.

STARPOWER, simulation game. Simile II, P.O. Box 1023, La Jolla, CA 92037 ($3.00 - directions on making kit). Deals with the world's unequal distribution of wealth and power. Suitable for 15-30 players.

THE GLOBAL ARMS RACE: COMPETITION, CONTROL OR DISARMAMENT, six 3-minute cassette recordings. SANE Education Fund of Pennsylvania, 1141 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (purchase, $12.00; rental, $4.00). Self-contained discussions that raise provocative issues about the arms race. Titles are: (1) "The Militarization of the Planet; An Overview of the Arms Race," (2) "The Superpowers' Arms Race," (3) "Perspectives on Ending the Arms Race," (4) "The Nuclear Energy-Weapons Connection," (5) "Global Resources and Military Demand," and (6) "The Arms Race: A Public Issue."

SECTION VI

PROGRAMS IN PEACE AND WORLD ORDER TEACHING AND RESEARCH

PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES PROGRAMS

Peace and World Order Studies Programs/Centers Affiliated with the Institute for World Order

Except for The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (India), Synergic Developments (Argentina), and the World Order Studies Project (Japan), all of which are research institutes, the following programs/centers are engaged primarily in the development of world order teaching at the undergraduate level (in some cases at the graduate level) and in such related activities as the dissemination of world curriculum materials, the convening of world order seminars and symposia, the support of theoretical and applied world order research, and the sponsoring of community "outreach" projects. For further information, write directly to the program/center listed.

World Order Studies Program
University House
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA 52242

Centre for the Study of Developing Societies
29 Rajpur
Delhi 110054
INDIA

Conflict and Peace Studies Program
Muenzinger E 229
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO 80302

Program in Peace and World Order Studies
Colgate University
Hamilton, NY 13346

Program in Technology, Resources, and Sustainable Growth
Department of Government and Politics
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742

Program of Studies in Peace, Justice and Social Change
211 Longfellow Hall
13 Appian Way
Cambridge, MA 02138

Synergic Developments
Fundacion Bariloche
8400 San Carlos de Bariloche
ARGENTINA

World Order Studies Program
Speech Building 206
The University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX 78712

World Order Studies Project
Quigley Center of
International Studies
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455

World Order Studies Project
c/o Yoshikazu Sakamoto
Faculty of Law
University of Tokyo
Tokyo 13, JAPAN

Other Peace and World Order Studies Programs/Centers

North America

American University
Pitman B. Potter Center for
World Order
School of International Service
Washington, DC 20016
(graduate)

Akron, University of
Center for Peace Studies
Akron, OH 44304

Alaska, University of
Peace Arts Committee
College, AK 99701

Antioch College
Antioch International
Individualized M.A. in
Peace Studies
Yellow Springs, OH

Augsburg College
Department of Theology
Minneapolis, MN 55405

Beloit College
Peace Studies Program
Beloit, WS 53511

Bethel College
Peace Studies Program
North Newton, KA 67117

Boston College
Program for the Study of
Peace & War
Chestnut Hill, MA 02167

California State University,
Los Angeles
Center for the Study of Armament
and Disarmament
Los Angeles, CA 90032
(graduate research)

California State University
Sacramento Peace Studies Center
Sacramento, CA 95819

California State University
San Francisco Peace Studies
Program
San Francisco, CA 94132

California, University of,
Berkeley
Institute of International
Studies
Berkeley, CA 94720
(research and teaching)

Colorado, University of
Graduate Concentration in the
Sociology of Conflict
Boulder, CO 80302

Columbia University
Institute of War & Peace Studies
New York, NY 10027
(research)

Cornell University
Program on Peace Studies
Center for International Studies
Ithaca, NY 14850
(research)

Cornell University
Program on Peace Studies
Center for International
Studies
Ithaca, NY 14850
(research)

Dayton, University of
Peace Studies Institute
Dayton, OH 54509

Denver, University of
Center for Teaching
International Relations
Graduate School of
International Studies
Denver, CO 80210

De Paul University
The Vision & Analysis of
Peace
Chicago, IL 60614

Dubuque, University of
Department of Political Science
Dubuque, IA 52001

Duke University Law School
Rule of Law Research Center
Durham, NC 27706
(research)

D'Youville College
Peace Studies Program
Buffalo, NY 14201

Earlham College
Peace Studies Program
Richmond, IN 47374

Earlham School of Religion
Joint Peace Studies, Masters
Program
Earlham College
Richmond, IN 47374

Edgewood College
Independent Studies in Peace &
Conflict Resolution
Madison, WS 53711

Georgetown University
Center for Peace Studies
Washington, DC 20007

Goshen College
PAXCOM
Goshen, IN 46526

Graceland College
Department of Sociology &
Anthropology
Lamoni, IA 50140

Gustavus Adolphus College
Peace Education Program
St. Peter, MN 56082

Hamline University
Department of History
St. Paul, MN 55104

Harvard University
Center for International Affairs
6 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
(research)

Haverford College
Center for Nonviolent Conflict
Resolution
Haverford, PA 19041

Hawaii, University of
Alternative Futures Program
Honolulu, HI 96822

Hawaii, University of
Center for Cultural and Technical
Interchange Between East and
West
1777 East-West Road
Honolulu, HI 96822

Hilbert College
Institute on Educating for
Non-Violence
Hamburg, NY 14075

Illinois, University of
Institute of Communications
Research
Urbana, IL 61801
(research)

Indiana University of
Pennsylvania
Institute for Projective
Policy Studies
Indiana, PA 15701

Juniata College
Peace Studies Program
Huntingdon, PA 16652

Kent State University
Center for Peaceful Change
Kent, OH 44240

La Verne College
Peace Studies Program
La Verne, CA 91750

Manchester College
Peace Studies Institute
North Manchester, IN 46962

Manhattan College
Peace Studies Institute
Riverdale, NY 10471

Mankato State College
Peace Studies Program
Mankato, MN 56001

Massachusetts Institute of
Technology
Center for International
Studies
Cambridge, MA 02139
(research)

Massachusetts, University of
Future Studies Program
Amherst, MA 01002

Massachusetts, University of
Global Survival Studies
Amherst, MA 01002

Michigan, University of
World Politics Program
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
(research)

Missouri, University of
M.A. Program in Community
Conflict Resolution
St. Louis, MO

Missouri, University of
Peace Studies Program
Department of Sociology
Columbia, MO 65201

Monmouth College
Program in Peace Studies
West Long Branch, NJ 07764

North Carolina, University of
Studies of Conflict and Peace
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
(graduate)

Northeast Missouri State
University
Kirksville, MO 63501

Notre Dame, University of
Program in Nonviolence
Notre Dame, IN 46566

Ohio State University
Mershon Center
Columbus, OH 43201
(research)

Oregon State University
Peace Education Resource Group
Corvallis, OR 97331

Pennsylvania, University of
Peace Science Department
Philadelphia, PA 19104
(offers Ph.D.)

Pittsburgh, University of
Committee on Conflict Resolution
and Peace Studies
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Portland, University of
Peace Studies Program
Portland, OR

Princeton University
World Order Studies Program
Center of International
Studies
Princeton, NJ 08540
(post-doctoral research)

Purdue University
Center for the Study of the
Person
Fort Wayne, IN 46805

Purdue University
Department of Political
Science
Lafayette, IN 47907

Rice University
Peace Studies Program
Houston, TX 77001

Richmond College
War and Peace Studies Program
Staten Island, NY 10301

Rocky Mountain College
Department of Christian
Thought
Billings, MT 59102

Rutgers University
World Order Program
Graduate School of Education
New Brunswick, NJ 80903

Saint Joseph's College
Program for the Study of Peace
& Human Development
Philadelphia, PA 19131

Saint Louis University
Institute for Education in
Peace and Justice
3700 West Pine Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63108

School for International
Training
World Issues Program
Brattleboro, VT 05301

Southern Illinois University
Peace Studies Program
Edwardsville, IL

Stanford University
Institute for the Study of
Conflict and Integration
Stanford, CA 94305
(research)

State University of New York -
Buffalo
Center for International
Conflict Studies
Amherst, NY 14226
(research)

Stephens College
Program in Nonviolence &
International Affairs
Columbia, MO 65201

Syracuse University
Nonviolence Studies Program
Syracuse, NY 13210

Union College
Peace and World Order Studies
Program
Schenectady, NY 12308

Utah State University
Policy Research Program
Logan, UT 84322
(research)

Washington, University of
Conflict Studies Program
Seattle, WA 98105

Washington, University of
Graduate Committee on Conflict
Studies
Seattle, WA 98105
(research)

Waterloo, University of
Peace Studies
Conrad Grebel College
Waterloo, Ontario
Canada

Wayne State University
Center for Peace and Conflict Studies
Detroit, MI 48202
(graduate)

Wilmington College
Peace Studies Institute
Wilmington, OH 45177

William Patterson College of New Jersey
Peace Studies Program
300 Pompton Road
Wayne, NJ 07470

Wisconsin, University of
Center for Conflict Resolution
Suite 120
520 University Avenue
Madison, WI 53706

Wisconsin, University of
Peace Studies Program
Stevens Point, WI 54481

Wittenberg University
Transnational Education Program
Springfield, OH 45501

Yale University
World Data Analysis Program
New Haven, CT 06520
(research)

Outside North America

Austria

Institute for Peace Research
University of Vienna
Bauernfeldgasse 9/2/5
A-1190 Vienna

Belgium

Centre of War Sociology
Institut de Sociologie
Universite Libre de Bruxells
44 trenne Jeanne
Brussels 1050

Institute for Conflict Study
University of Peace
B5200 Huy Rue de Marche
35 Antwerp

Chile

Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration
Casilla 3213
Santiago

Denmark

Hesbjerg Peace Research College
5573 Holmstrup
Fyn

Germany, Federal Republic of

Free University of Berlin
Institute for Political Science
Department of Peace and Conflict Research
1 Berlin 33
Ihmestrasse 21
West-Berlin

Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy
University of Hamburg
Falkenstein 1
D-2000 Hamburg 55

Japan

Institute for Peace Science
Hiroshima University
Higashi-Sendamarchi
Hiroshima

Peace Studies Association
Waseda University
4-5-4, Asagaya-Kita
Suguinami-hu
Tokyo 166

India

Centre for Studies in Peace and Nonviolence
Sri Venkatswara University
Tirupati 517502

Netherlands

Peace Research Center
Institute of Political Science
University of Nijmegen
Verlengde Groenstraat 43
Nijmegen

Nigeria

Department of Teacher Education
University of Ibadan
Ibadan

Peace Research Institute of Nigeria
Department of Political Science
University of Nigeria

Sweden

Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Uppsala University
P.O. Box 278
S-751 05 Uppsala 1

Interdisciplinary Conflict Research Group
Statsvetenskapliga Institutionen
University of Gothenburg
Fack
400 25 Goteborg 52

Unisversity Commission for Peace and Conflict Research
Paradisgatan 5
S-22350 Lund

United Kingdom

Centre for the Analysis of Conflict
University College London
4-8 Endsleigh Gardens
London W.C. 1

Conflict Research Unit
London School of Economics
13 Endsleigh Street
London W.C. 1

Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton, Sussex

Peace and Conflict Programme
Fylde College
University of Lancaster
Bailrigg

School of Peace Studies
University of Bradford
Bradford, West Yorkshire
BD7 1DP

SECTION VII

RELEVANT INSTITUTES AND ORGANIZATIONS

INSTITUTES AND ORGANIZATIONS RELEVANT TO PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES

North America

African-American Institute
United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

American Committee on
East-West Accord
30 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

American Committee on
US-China Relations
112 East 64th Street
New York, NY 10021

American Friends Service
Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Arms Control Association
11 Dupont Circle
Suite 900
Washington, DC 20036

Association for Supervision
and Curriculum Development
1701 K Street, N.W.
Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20006

Association for World Education
c/o School of Education
University of Connecticut
Storris, CT 06268

Association of Leaders of Latin
American Studies
P.O. Box 73
Lefferts Station
Brooklyn, NY 11225

Bread for the World
4600 North Kilpatrick Avenue
Chicago, IL 60630

Campaign for Human Development
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 307
Washington, DC 20036

Canadian Peace Research Institute
119 Thomas Street
Oakville, Ontario L6J 3A7
Canada

Center for Concern
3700 13th Street, N.E.
Washington, DC 20017

Center for Global Community
Organization
c/o COPRED/IWO
1140 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036

Center for Global Perspectives
218 East 18th Street
New York, NY 10003

Center for Teaching Peace and
Conflict Studies
Wayne State University
5229 Cass Avenue
Detroit, MI 48202

Consortium on Peace Research,
Education and Development
c/o Gustavus Adolphus College
St. Peter, MN 56082

Council of Chief State
School Officers
Suite 301
1201 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Friends Peace Committee of
The Philadelphia Yearly
Meeting of Friends
1515 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Global Development Studies
Institute
P.O. Box 522
14 Main Street
Madison, NJ 07940

Global Education Associates
552 Park Avenue
East Orange, NJ 07017

Institute for Education in
Peace and Justice
3700 West Pine
St. Louis, MO 63108

Institute for Policy Studies
1909 Q Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

Institute for World Order
1140 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036

Inter-Community Center for
Justice and Peace
20 Washington Square North
New York, NY 10011

International Association of
Education for World Peace
P.O. Box 3282
Blue Spring Station
Huntsville, AL 35810

Interorganizational Commission
on International Education
c/o Overseas Development Council
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Mid-America Program for Global
Perpspectives
513 North Park
Indiana University
Bloomington, IN 47401

National Catholic Education
Association
One Dupont Circle, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Overseas Development Council
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

Oxfam-America
302 Columbus Avenue
Boston, MA 02160

Planetary Citizens
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Sacramento Peace Center
1107 9th Street
Room 1007
Sacramento, CA 95814

SANE: A Citizen's Organization
for a Sane World
318 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

The Action Center
1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 302
Washington, DC 20036

The Asia Society
Education Department
112 East 64th Street
New York, NY 10021

The Peace Lab
438 North Skinker
St. Louis, MO 63130

United Nations Association
of the USA
300 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

United Nations Institute
for Training and Research
801 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

U.S. Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street
New York, NY 10016

Womens International League
for Peace and Freedom
Jane Addams Society
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

World Council for Curriculum
and Instruction
Box 171
Teachers' College
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

World Hunger Education Service
2115 S Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

Worldwatch Institute
1776 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

World Without War Council
175 Fifth AVenue
New York, NY 10011

Outside North America

Austria

Austrian Peace Research
Society
Lienfeldergasse 5/1/7
A-1160 Vienna

Austrian Society for Peace
Research
1090 Vienna
Wilhelm Exnergasse 34

European Coordination Centre
for Research and
Documentation in Social
Sciences
Franz Josefs-Kai 3
1010 Vienna, P.O. Box 974

International Institute for
Peace
Mollwaldplatz 5, A. 1040
Vienna

Belgium

Institute for Conflict Study
Heistraat 54
2690 Temse

Union of International
Associations
1 rue aux Laines
1000 Brussels

Denmark

Institute for Peace and
Conflict Research
Onsgaardsvej 13
2900 Hellerup

Finland

International Peace Research
Association
P.O. Box 70
33101 Tampere 10

Tampere Peace Research
Institute
Tammelan puistokatu 58B
33100 Tampere 10

The Finnish United Nations
Association
Unioninkatus 45B
SF 00170
Helsinki 17

France

Associated Schools Project
United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural
Organization
7 Place de Fontenoy
75700 Paris

Institute Francais de
Polemologie
7, Rue Gutenberg
75 Paris XV

Germany, Federal Republic of

Deutsche Gesellschaft fur
Friedens- und
Konfliktforschung
Gotenstrasse 27
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg

Peace Research Institute
Frankfurt (PRIF)
Escherscheimerlandstrasse 14
12 Stock, Frankfurt

Study Group for Peace and
Conflict Research
D-69 Heidelberg
Haupstrasse 52

Studygroup for Peace and
Conflict Research, Inc.
53, Bonn
Konigstrasse 47

Society for Future- and
Peace Research
3 Hannover, Eichenplan 1

India

Gandhi Peace Foundation
221-223 Deem Dayal
Upadhyaya Marg
Delhi 1

Gandhian Institute of Studies
Rajghat, Varanasi

Indian Association of Teacher
Educators
8B Bandh Road
Allengariji
Allahabad (U.P.)

Indian Council on Peace Research
New Delhi

Ireland

Irish Commission for Peace and
Justice
169 Booterstown Avenue
Blackrock, County Dublin

Italy

Action for Development
United Nations Food and
Agriculture Organization
Via delle Terme di Caracalla
00100 Rome

Instituto Italiano di
Polemologia e di Recerchi sui
Conflitti
Via Arco 1, Milano

Centro di Formazione per la
Pianificazione
Partinico (Sicily)

Japan

Japan Peace Research Group
Institute of Social Science
University of Tokyo
Hongo 7-3-1, Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo 113

World Friendship Center
1544 Midoni-Machi
Hiroshima 251

Netherlands

Nederlands Instituut voor
Vredesvraagstukken
(Netherlands Institute for
Peace Questions)
Alexanderstraat 7
Postbus 740, The Hague

Polemological Institute
Ubbo Emmiussingel, 19 Groningen

Norway

International Peace Research
Institute Oslo
Radhusgata 4
Oslo 1

Peace Education Commission
International Peace Research
Association
c.o Dr. Magnus Haavelsrud
Institute for Social Sciences
University of Tromso
9000 Tromso

Rumania

Romanian Association for
International Law and
International Relations
Soseaua Kiseleff nr. 471
Bucarest 1

Sweden

Pedagogic Institution
Box 2109
S-750 02 Uppsala

Stockholm International Peace
Research Institute
Sveavagen 166
S-113 46 Stockholm

Switzerland

International Union of Peace
Societies
12 rue Michel-Chanuet
120 8 Geneva

Lutheran World Federation
Department of Studies
150 route de Ferney
P.O. Box 66
CH-1211 Geneva 20

Project-Study on Swiss
Peace Research Institute
47, chemin de Rovereaz
1012 Lausanne

Quaker Service
International Conference and
Seminars
12, rue Adrien-Lachenal
1207 Geneva

The World Confederation of
Organizations of the Teaching
Profession
5 Avenue du Moulin
1100 Morges

United Kingdom

Centre for World Development
Education
25 Wilton
London, S.W. 1

Christian Aid
P.O. Box 1
London, S.W. 9

Council for Education in World
Citizenship
43 Russell Square
London, W.C. 1

Development Education Centre
Selly Oak Colleges
Bristol Road
Birmingham

J.D. Bernal Peace Library
70 Great Russell Street
London WC1 B 3BN

International Confederation for
Disarmament and Peace
6 Endsleigh Street
London, W.C. 1

National Peace Council
29 Great James Street
London WC1 N 3ES

Oxfam Education Department
274 Banbury Road
Oxford

Richardson Institute for
Conflict and Peace Research
Belgrove House, Belgrove Street
London WC1 H 8AA

World Education Fellowship
53 Grayskott Road
London SW1 1 5TS

World Studies Project
24 Palace Chambers
Bridge Street
London SW1 A 2J7

USSR

Institute for International
Affairs and World Economics
Peace Research Section
Moscow

World Order Curriculum Materials

Food/Hunger Macro-Analysis Seminar by William Moyer and Erika Thorne. A complete manual for a seminiar emphasizing the links between the political, social, economic, and scientific dimensions of local and global food/hunger issues, and the impact that individuals and groups can make toward solving existing problems. Suitable for college courses and independent study groups ($2.50 per copy).

World Food/Hunger Studies. A guide to curriculum development for college courses on food/hunger issues, which includes several short essays, 23 syllabi and course outlines, an annotated bibliography, and an organizations list. ($5.00 for first copy; $4.00 for each additional copy).

Peace and World Order Studies. A curriculum guide for developing world order courses and programs at the college level. Includes: essays on peace and world order education; detailed sample course outlines and syllabi; and annotated list of learning packages; a selected bibliography of key books, periodicals, and multi-media materials; and a directory of peace and world order studies programs throughout the world. ($5.00 per copy).

Global Interdependence and Human Survival: An Introduction to World Order Studies by Burns H. Weston. A complete manual for an introductory world order course, focusing upon the relationship between the world order values of peace, social justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance. Provides a detailed syllabus/outline and basic reading materials with appropriate study questions and writing assignments. Presents an analysis of the existing international system and various challenges to it, including a case study of the world food/hunger problem. Encourages the student to develop alternative conceptions of world order. ($5.00 for first copy; $4.00 for each additional copy).

Order From:

Transnational Academic Program
Institute for World Order
1140 Ave. of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10036

INSTITUTE
FOR
WORLD
ORDER

The Institute for World Order, a non-profit educational organization, is devoted to building a world order of peace, social justice, economic well-being, and ecological balance. In this quest, it is concerned with fitting together three parts of a complex puzsle; the world as it is today, the world as it should be tomorrow, and the means to get us from here to there. Through a broad program of education and policy research, the Institute has engaged a global network of students, educators, and scholars, as well as social critics, policy leaders and activists in helping to bring about a more just world order.

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Transnational Academic Program, Institute for World Order,
1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10036.